GUARDIAN WEEKLY March 17

Rugby Union Five Nations Championship: Scotland 9 England 18

Scotland trampled by lumbering dinosaur

Robert Armstrong at Murrayfield

IT IS no small thing to deny Scotland a Grand Slam at Murrayfield with a performance of ruthless efficiency, yet England, for all their awesome control, showed why they have become the most negative side in international rugby.

Will Carling's men took a giant step backwards from the rich promise of last summer's World Cup with the sort of tryless slugfest at forward that used to characterise the Five Nations Championship during the highly forgettable sixties.

Naturally, England will argue that the end justifies the means, that this victory meant everything, especially since it was only their third in seven matches. That response, though, is near-sighted nonsense; players earning up to £36,000 each a season from their England appearances have a responsibility, not to entertain, but to place the full range of their individual skills and collective ability before the paying public.

Players such as Will Carling, Dean Richards and Rory Underwood are genuine stars of British sport, men whose remarkable record of achievement may never be surpassed, but they are all largely wasted in a team that lacks vision and colour.

Since Jack Rowell took over as manager from Geoff Cooke nearly two years ago he has not advanced the strategic potential of the national side by one iota. Indeed, England have reverted to the role of lumbering dinosaur.



Full throttle: Townsend gets a grip on Carling in the heat of the game PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL STEELE

In the event, Scotland were simply not good enough to merit a Grand Slam, even though they have brought passion, enterprise and a well-rounded style to an otherwise mediocre championship. A coldly professional English pack proved superior in every significant respect; there was no question that Richards, Lawrence Dallaglio and the rest fully deserved their two-score margin of victory.

Slow ball rather than kill-the-ball was the main reason why the England fly-half Paul Grayson received possession only 12 times in 80 minutes, a statistic that underlines the poverty of imagination of England's limited game plan.

The wings, Underwood and Sleightholme, were never given a pass in space, the full-back Catt found no opportunity to counter-attack, and the centres, Guscott and Carling, concentrated largely on offensive defence, keeping Scotland's guerrilla sorties ring-fenced in their own half.

In essence, England imposed the old-fashioned nine-man game that deservedly elicits scorn and derision among the major nations of the southern hemisphere. David Campese's habitual taunt that England bore the fans because they refuse to take risks seemed particularly apt on the day.

It is fair to say already that England have no chance of winning the 1999 World Cup — and only a slim one of reaching the last four — unless they take urgent action to eliminate last weekend's sterile tactics from their repertoire. The match against Ireland on March 16 at Twickenham would be a good occasion for them to win the Triple Crown by introducing flair into a moribund season. To date the Irish have scored six championship tries against England's paltry two.

Rowell and his assistants need to stop treating every match as if it were a rerun of D-Day. Carling, who deserves to walk away with the RFU's Player of the Season award, has pointed the way with his restless search for space and movement in unpromising conditions. The England squad should be reminded that supporters pay up to £35 each to watch the best they can produce.

England's win extended their successful sequence against the Scots to seven matches, but the more telling statistic is that no tries have been scored in the last three Calcutta Cup games. Only Scotland's Gregor Townsend looked like ending that dismal run, with a 60-metre break from a Smith "steal" at the tail of a line-out; Carling terminated it. It was the one glorious highlight of an afternoon that left rugby itself as thoroughly deflated as the Scots.

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria

Across

1 Clue to give catcall (just so) for stage show (3,5,2,5)
9 Dominate one obviously in the red? (9)
10 Plantagenet sign gathering dust? (5)
11 Outstanding work of art turned over without falsehood (7)
12 Land turned over on a site (7)
13 See 24
14 Border security could have fatal consequences (7)
17 Add spirit to double score, if put in (7)
19 Seek lad wandering either side of the Border (7)
22 Type of dots in 11, badly placed in slope (7)
24, 26,13 Sing low — threat uttered by nightly singer in winter (3,7,3)
25 Mechanised combat where sailor holds an amount of power (4,3)
26 See 24
28 See 8
29 Daisy, a kid Bruce got involved with (9)
30 Less than candid newspaper backing right answer for one with child (15)

Down

1 Low frequency from Whitemoor Street (3,2,5,5)
2 Mutton on plates in Surrey (5)
3 Active personality after non-starting period (2,3,2)
4 Latest fashion to be stunning to Welsh girl climber (3,4)
5 Royal speaker to emphasise breaking of rules (7)
6 Sort of cap worn by sainted queen or gang member (7)
7 Doubly lovey-dovey bird (9)
8, 28 People with me when Great North-Eastern's wrecked by greater one with warrant (7,8-5)
15 Potty sort of conservation? (6,3)
16,18 Pass the Guardian's pretext (6)
20 One, two, three letters in sequence as a minimum (2,5)
21 Place in Staffordshire, and partly rural Italian first (7)
22 Busy creatures include small investor as well (7)
23 Walk down the avenue with an unconvincing US lawman (7)
27 Hint how to remove head from shellfish (6)

Last week's solution

Ireland 30 Wales 17

Ireland's stuff of fantasy

David Plummer in Dublin

TWO weeks after suffering their heaviest defeat in the championship, Ireland hit the 30-point mark for the first time — a turnaround only they could engineer and then only against equally fickle opponents. Such had been the depth of despair after their mauling by the French that this convincing victory was the stuff of fantasy.

Ireland's tactics were simple: the half-backs kept the ball in front of their forwards, their rugby was risk-free, and pressure was placed on the Wales outside-half Arwel Thomas, who had one of those days when everything he touched turned to dust. He veered between indifference and indecision in an unravelling of confidence and self-esteem of the kind which earlier this decade saw Colin Stephens decline from the Wales outside-half slot to his club's replacements bench.

It was a missed kick to touch by Thomas which led to the first of Ireland's four tries — the first time they had scored that many in a championship match at Lansdowne Road — and the second came after another anaemic Thomas touch-kick failed to find its mark.

Ireland's third try also came from a misdirected kick, this time by the scrum-half Robert Howley, and in spite of flashes of brilliance in between, Wales were reminiscent of Tottenham Hotspur under Ossie Ardiles: likely to score but likely to concede more.

The problem for Ireland and Wales this decade has not been defeating each other — the tally stands 5-2 in Ireland's favour — but in making an impression against the other three nations.

The Irish have enjoyed back-to-back victories in the Five Nations only once since 1985, Wales and England the victims three years ago, and because they lack firepower at forward and creativity behind they appear ill-equipped to embarrass even an England side at its most conservative. England will not be rash and reckless as Wales were.

At least the future of the Ireland coach Murray Kidd looks more secure. For all the New Zealander's belief in an organised game plan based on discipline and control, it was old-style Irish fire, passion and mayhem which did for Wales. Had his side shown more poise they would have scored at least 20 more points.

Though Ireland's 15-7 interval lead was eroded to one point with 15 minutes to go after Wales scored the try of the match in a 60-yard counter-attack rounded off by Ieuan Evans, who had earlier scored his first championship try away from Cardiff, Wales never looked potential victors and were finished off by two forward tries.

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Britain stops to mourn the death of 16 young children and their teacher in a brutal attack on a school gym

Gun ban call follows school massacre

Rebecca Smithers and Duncan Campbell

A FORMER member of the Government is urging MPs from all parties to back him in pressing for a ban on handguns following the Dunblane school massacre in which 16 primary schoolchildren and their teacher were were killed last week.

David Mellor, who was a Home Office minister at the time of the 1987 Hungerford tragedy when Michael Ryan gunned down 16 people, claims that the opportunity was missed then when legislation was watered down by the powerful pro-guns lobby.

In a strong attack on fellow Conservatives in the small but well-organised pro-guns faction, he said it was essential that MPs and the public were not swayed by their arguments.

Mr Mellor said on BBC Radio on Monday: "When the public has forgotten the horror of Dunblane the gun lobbyists will be coming out with their garbage." The anger people felt now should be "bottled up" before their memories faded.

"Twice in 10 years we've had these maniacs from these gun clubs busting out and killing innocent people. If it happens a third time, God help Parliament and any government that hasn't taken the steps that need to be taken."

Mr Mellor was speaking the day after the Queen and the Princess Royal became the latest official visitors to Dunblane in the wake of the tragedy that ended when the gunman, Thomas Hamilton, shot himself in the head.

On Sunday, millions of people across Britain held a minute's silence in remembrance of the 17 victims.

Mr Mellor is seeking the ban either through a private member's bill — which with government backing would go through Parliament quickly — or through an amendment to the Criminal Justice Bill.

Children from Dunblane primary in shock after the killing of their schoolfriends and a teacher by a lone gunman who entered the Scottish school on Wednesday morning last week PHOTOGRAPH: MURDO MacLEOD

But politicians, police and gun club officials appealed for a period of reflection before any changes are made. Patrick Johnson, secretary of the British Shooting Sports Council, said blaming guns for the shooting was like blaming Henry Ford for every fatal road accident. He said: "You cannot legislate for one individual act of this nature."

The fact that only 1 per cent of people who apply for firearms certificates are rejected is likely to be used in the growing call for a tightening of the law on the issuing of licences.

Currently chief constables must be satisfied that gun licence applicants are not "of intemperate habits or unsound mind". Forms must be countersigned by a British resident who has known the applicant for at least two years and has a professional standing in the community.

Political anxiety over gun control was heightened on Monday when it was alleged that a 14-year-old boy arrested in High Wycombe for stealing four rifles and pistols had previously handled the weapons at the home of a local pensioner, *writes Owen Bowcott*.

Peter Preston, aged 66, who lives in sheltered accommodation, admitted he had made a "mistake" in letting youngsters know where he stored his guns and that he kept the keys to his firearms cabinet in a hall cupboard.

The alert in Buckinghamshire began with a break-in last Friday evening at Mr Preston's home in Chalfont St Peter. He is a competition marksman who holds a licence for five guns.

The next day a youth answering the same description as the 14-year-old was believed to have opened fire on an Austin Metro in the town. The driver was shocked but not hurt.

On Monday Thames Valley police drafted in armed officers to back up the search for the missing weapons. Shortly after 10.30am police on surveillance duty outside a house in High Wycombe detained the 14-year-old schoolboy and his companion, aged 16. Two small bore .22 rifles and a pistol were recovered later. Police were still looking for a .22 pistol.

Misfit's revenge, page 10
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Disco blaze kills 150 in Philippines

Alistair McIntosh in Manila

AT LEAST 150 people were killed on Tuesday morning when a blaze swept through a Manila discotheque that had no fire exits.

The dead were mostly teenagers celebrating the start of the school holidays. A night of joy turned to horror as the Ozone disco in Manila's Quezon City district became an inferno and more than 300 people fought desperately to reach the single exit. Fire officers said the disco, popular among affluent youngsters, had no emergency exits and many of the casualties had been trampled to death in the stampede.

A grim-faced President Fidel Ramos visited the charred ruins and ordered a thorough investigation into the blaze. He threatened to have the club owners arrested if they did not co-operate.

The Quezon City mayor, Mel Mathay, said that 149 bodies had been recovered from the debris and another person had died in hospital. Eight people were still seriously ill, he said on Tuesday.

Firemen said the blaze was the worst in the country's history. It broke out shortly after midnight, with disc jockey Mervyn Reyes raising the alarm when he saw flames in wiring above him. His cries set off a stampede as patrons and employees clambered over each other to get to the narrow, single exit, Mr Reyes and other survivors said.

Firemen, who fought the blaze for 100 minutes before they were able to enter, said they found bodies piled on top of each other amid the twisted metal and other smoke-blackened debris. Many of the bodies were so badly burnt identification was impossible. — *Reuter*

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Austria	AS30	Malta	45c
Belgium	BF75	Netherlands	G 4.75
Denmark	DK16	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 10	Portugal	E300
France	FF 13	Saudi Arabia	SR 6.50
Germany	DM 4	Spain	P 300
Greece	DR 400	Sweden	SK 19
Italy	L 3,000	Switzerland	SF 3.30

Mandela tells divorce trial of his loneliness

David Beresford in Johannesburg

THE public humiliation of Nelson Mandela at the hands of his wife, Winnie, was taken yet further on Monday when South Africa's head of state was forced to take the witness stand and testify about bedroom secrets, saying: "I was the loneliest man . . ."

The long-festering relationship between one of the world's most famous married couples erupted into a courtroom battle as Mrs Mandela staged a rearguard action in an attempt to prevent the ANC leader from divorcing her.

President Mandela testified to the Johannesburg supreme court how he discovered that his wife was having an affair when he was given a love letter she had written to a young lawyer, and how she had broken down and wept when she was confronted with it.

"My lord, if the entire universe tried to persuade me to reconcile with the defendant [Mrs Mandela] I would not," he told the court, insisting that the relationship had broken down irretrievably. "I am determined to get rid of this marriage."

Disclosing that they had not talked to each other "for years" except for the "exchange of pleasantries", he said that her avowals of affection for him at political rallies were "cosmetic and hypocritical".

Mrs Mandela's legal team presented an extraordinary defence — insisting that, as a member of the royal house of the Tembu, the state president had to submit himself to tribal mediation to try to save the marriage.

She claimed that the "slight tensions" in their relationship were due entirely to public allegations that she was responsible for the murder of the 14-year-old township activist, Stompie Sepei, and the killing of a Soweto physician, Dr Abubaker Asvat.

In papers before the court, she is demanding half of Mr Mandela's assets. The papers show that, on a reported monthly salary of only R16,000 ($4,000), Mrs Mandela is spending $28,000.

The South African president cut a frail figure when he appeared in court. Dressed in a grey suit and watched closely by bodyguards he engaged in smiling banter with his own counsel, greeted his estranged wife politely and went on a mini-walkabout of the courtroom during an adjournment.

On Tuesday, Mrs Mandela sacked her lawyer but the judge refused her a postponement, and later granted a decree of divorce. Mr Mandela's "claim is unanswerable and he is entitled to the relief he seeks", Judge Frikkie Eloff said.

Terrorism springs from a denial of statehood

LAST WEEK'S summit of peacemakers rested on a seriously mistaken belief: that terrorism is a systemic disease of the global body politic; that the "carriers" of terrorism are bred in generic spawning grounds: politically rootless collectivities which threaten to undermine the society of states. This conception of terrorism dehumanised it, paving the way for an internationally sanctioned campaign of "extermination". But this approach to terrorism merely widens the war, for only by exterminating whole peoples can their representatives, the "carriers" of terrorism, be eradicated. The name for communal extermination is genocide.

A discussion of terrorism must begin with first principles. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 established the state as the highest form of political identity for a collectivity. After the first world war we accepted the political principle of self-determination, and since then the society of states has continued to expand its members, according political recognition to a great many peoples who have sought statehood. However, the principle of self determination has collided in practice with the national interests of pre-existing states, so that peoples like the Irish, Kurds, Palestinians, Kashmiris and Tibetans continue to be denied full statehood by military force.

From the Peace of Westphalia until the present, war has been accepted as a rational and legitimate tool of the state. In Clausewitzian terms, war is the continuation of politics by other means. For those communities persistently denied a state of their own by military force, political action will logically be continued by war. Lacking a state from which to wage conventional war, the stateless must then wage "a war by other means": terrorism, with its surprise attacks on civilian as well as military targets.

As long as international society supports both self-determination and the Clausewitzian right to state-centred war, we must accept the wars of state-seekers, or terrorism, as legitimate. Since most established states have their origins in war, the question of who is a terrorist and who is a freedom-fighter is one of birth, rather than of moral clarity. So we would do well to skip the righteous, anti-terrorist summits and turn our efforts to internationally guaranteed statehood for self-determining peoples.

Carol Rice,
Victoria, British Colombia, Canada

WE ARE three European citizens living in the West Bank town of Ramallah. We condemn the terrorist outrages inflicted upon Israeli citizens but the collective punishment being inflicted upon Palestinians is both unjust and counter-productive.

Children, the sick and the elderly are being denied access to medical attention, and children are being prevented from attending schools. Thousands of families in Gaza and the West Bank have been consigned to deepening poverty following the withdrawal of Palestinian access to places of employment in Israel.

In Ramallah, where many Palestinians support the peace process, we have witnessed a growing sense of desperation and injustice. That sense has been heightened by mass arrests, with hundreds of Palestinians now being held without charge, let alone a fair trial, in "administrative detention".

Two days ago, a three-week-old child died from a treatable respiratory infection because the ambulance was prevented from taking the child urgently to a hospital in a town just 20 minutes' drive away.

It is tempting for politicians to boost their popularity by dealing with the symptoms of a deeper crisis. Hamas operations are one such symptom. The real crisis in the peace process is rooted in Israel's ongoing occupation of the West Bank, the expansion of settlements around East Jerusalem and along the Green Line, and the fast-fading hope among Palestinians that peace would mean something more than limited municipal rule under Israeli control.

Julia Hawkins, Jean Lennock, Clare Woodcraft,
Ramallah, West Bank



Asia teaches other lessons

CHRIS PATTEN'S eagerness to learn from Asia is to be welcomed but it was not just Tory right-wingers who were left "choking on their cornflakes" by his interview (Still the governor, March 17).

Pointing to the lower tax and public expenditure rates in Hong Kong and elsewhere, he argues that this strategy would also bring higher employment in Britain and Europe. Readers should be cautious about this crude causal relationship.

"Tiger economies" like Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong itself are city states where lower levels of public expenditure are plausible. Others, like South Korea, have achieved high growth rates only at vast social expense and a level of union bashing that even Mr Heseltine would balk at. And no mention is made of the protectionist strategies that nurtured fledgling Asian industries in their formative years — all of which are now unacceptable in Europe.

The governor would do well to look again at the lessons Europe should learn from Asia. Anyone who has lived and worked at the grassroots level there must wonder how Britain could develop the same community spirit and social responsibility. The degree of local organisation in many communities is a key factor in successful, people-centred responses to poverty elimination.

Poverty has grown in Britain since Mr Patten's departure. Working partnerships between state and communities in support of local initiatives are a valuable tool to reverse this trend. But to develop them we must spend public money and learn social technologies from elsewhere.

Dan Rees,
London

Labour's poor election record

MARC GILMORE (March 3) claims that "the Tories are certs to lose the next election". The fact is that Labour's record in general elections verges on the woeful. In my lifetime of 44 years, Labour has achieved only one solitary election victory with any conviction — in 1966 (an election cleverly called by Harold Wilson right after England had won the World Cup.)

Wilson used to boast that under his leadership Labour won four elections — a slight exaggeration, even for him. In 1964, despite polls showing Labour miles ahead, the party squeaked in with a majority of three; in the so-called coalminer's election of March 1974, although Labour won more seats the Tories won more votes. In October of that year, Labour again squeaked back with a majority of three.

In the same 44 years, Labour has been in power a mere 11 years — four of them as part of a coalition with the liberals — while the Conservatives have won eight elections, all with substantial majorities, except Major's victory in 1992.

When the next election is called, it is highly likely that Labour's huge lead over the Conservatives will shrink to single digits within days. Another crisis like the Falklands or the Gulf war with Britain on the winning side, or the sudden fracturing of Labour's own "broad church" of disparate opinions, could see Tony Blair, like Foot, Kinnock and Smith before him, pass like another Labour ship in the night.

Blair himself was more on the mark recently when he strongly warned his party against complacency. The only certainty is that in politics there are never any certainties.

Stephen Kear,
Los Angeles, USA

Party time in Australia

ON THE subject of the number of states in Australia, Roger Milton writes that the Northern Territory should be counted as the seventh state, given its possession of a legislature (March 10). On this basis the Australian Capital Territory, which consists of little more than Canberra, where the federal government resides, should be considered the eighth state. The ACT was given its own legislature some seven years ago.

If you think this makes Australia somewhat over-governed, with a federal government, eight state governments and a multitude of local governments, all in a nation of only 18 million, you would not be alone. In the first ACT elections, run along proportional representation lines, a number of successful candidates were from the No Self-Government and Abolish Self-Government parties. In fact, two members of the former party were actually made ministers in the first (coalition) government. Candidates from the Party Party Party and the Warm Sun-Ripened Tomato Party, thankfully, did not do so well.

David Hamer,
Richmond, Victoria, Australia

CHRISTOPHER ZINN (March 10) is wrong when he says that the Australian election showed a swing for almost 6 per cent to the conservative Liberal-National Party coalition. In fact while the swing *away* from Labor was 5.8 per cent, the swing *to* the coalition was only 2.6 per cent.

It is interesting to note that the campaign by the Liberal Party was not based on its traditional right-wing, business-oriented philosophy. It was, as claimed by the campaign director, a strategy structured from two years of market research into voters' concerns, resulting in a rag-bag of promises stretching across the full spectrum of politics, many of which represented a complete about-face from those of the last election.

Caroline Leighton,
Oatley, NSW, Australia

Briefly

CONTRARY to your March 3 report of Haing Ngor's death, he was never "jailed for several years" during the Khmer Rouge era. He would not have been very unlikely to survive the horrendous conditions that prevailed in these institutions.

Ngor, however, did spend two days in a Khmer Rouge jail, followed by another three days in a small local prison during which he suffered excruciating torture.

As to Dith Pran, whose character Haing Ngor impersonated in The Killing Fields, he never, as far as I know from the film and his published life story, spent a single day in a Khmer Rouge prison.

Henri Locard,
Lyon, France

GIVEN that Europe will remain multilingual for the foreseeable future, why must we have one name for the European currency?

Maybe those of us already doubtful about the benefits of monetary union might be less resistant to the prospect if the unit was called, for example, "the pound" in the UK, "le franc", in France, and so on. During the changeover period, we could call it the "new pound" and "le nouveau franc", but later drop the prefix as happed in the UK at the time of decimalisation.

Chris Whitehouse,
Nairobi, Kenya

TWENTY-FIVE years of violence produced no discernible movement towards the IRA's goal. Surely the comparatively dull but discernibly more popular process of talking should have been given a similar period of evaluation before the IRA decided it lacked the necessary "dynamics".

Paul Weeks,
Beit Bridge, Zimbabwe

WHILE agreeing with Deyan Sudjic's assertion that the height of buildings reflects "ego, vanity and architectural self-confidence", (March 10), I should point out that he omits Toronto's CN Tower, completed in 1976, from his chronology. At 1,812 feet it remains the world's tallest free-standing structure, surpassing the Petronas Towers by 329 feet.

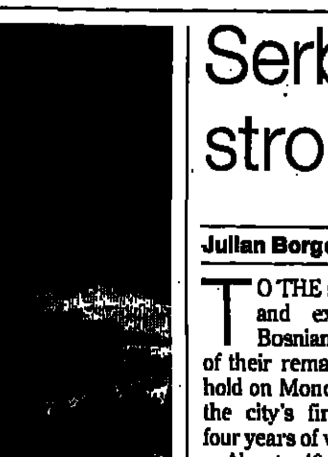
Ron Jenkins,
Toronto, Canada

WHAT dazzling dexterity Norman Stone, Oxford Professor of Modern History, employs in pulling the rug of qualitative judgment out from under the flat feet of his well-read, cultured mind when he opines (March 3) that the World Service "is still pretty good but there is an awful lot of demotic nonsense on it".

Joseph F Quinn,
Mantova, Italy

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Alicia Pérez Merino trudges up the ash-covered slopes of Popocatépetl for a religious rite in which villagers offer fruit and spicy mole sauce to the volcano's patron saint. The volcano, 50 miles south-east of Mexico City, has been spouting ash and steam PHOTOGRAPH: JOE CAVARETTA

Serbs leave their last stronghold in flames

Julian Borger in Sarajevo

TO THE sound of crackling fires and exploding ammunition, Bosnian Serb police pulled out of their remaining Sarajevo stronghold on Monday, paving the way for the city's final reunification after four years of war and siege.

About 40 policemen in blue fatigues stood to attention as the Serb flag was removed from their improvised headquarters in Grbavica, the fifth and last Sarajevo suburb to be transferred to the Bosnian government under the Dayton accord.

Milenko Karisik, a local politician, vowed that the Serbs would return to reclaim their share of the Bosnian capital. "We will be the last to leave but the first to come back. It may be in this generation or the next, but we will return."

A nearby roof, which had been burning fiercely, exploded as one of many weapons caches caught fire. The police were unperturbed. The Serb authorities have done nothing to hinder the widespread arson that has marked their departure from the suburbs.

Italian and French Nato patrols were substantially increased in the last few days of Serb control, but were unable to suppress arson and looting in a built-up area.

Twelve suspected arsonists detained by Italian Nato troops and handed over to the Grbavica police were immediately released, adding weight to allegations that the burning of the suburbs was sanctioned by the Serb leadership.

Federal police moved into Grbavica early on Tuesday morning. Their arrival marked the complete reunification of a city partitioned since April 1992.

Only an estimated tenth of the city's original Serb population will stay on under the Muslim-Croat Federation, however. Most of the Serbs were persuaded to leave by their own leaders, who are determined to maintain ethnic segregation in Bosnia.

The campaign of arson appears to be aimed at the 1,500 Serbs, Muslims and Croats who have opted to remain in Grbavica. Gangs of Serb arsonists have started fires directly above and below flats which are still occupied.

With very little firefighting equipment at their disposal, Nato troops can only try to save civilians trapped in burning high-rise blocks.

Sixteen local residents who had hoped to stay in their flats until the arrival of the federation police fled fires and intimidation to spend the night in a "safe house" set up by the UN refugee agency.

Three months after the deployment of the Nato-led implementation force (I-For), Nato officials reported general compliance with military aspects of the Dayton agreement but said one significant issue remained unresolved in the run-up to the 90-day milestone on Tuesday night.

By then, the armies are meant to have pulled back 2km from the line separating the federation and the Serb Republic. Major Simon Haselock, the Nato spokesman in Sarajevo, said the Muslim-led Bosnian army had shown no signs of withdrawing from its main bases in the city, which fall within the demilitarised zone.

Major Haselock said I-For had rejected a request by the Bosnian government for permission to keep 4,500 of its men inside Sarajevo's Tito barracks and other bases.

● Balkan leaders on Monday reached agreement at talks in Geneva on a plan to strengthen the Muslim-Croat Federation that includes penalties and incentives to comply with the Bosnian peace accord, Thomas Schmitt, an aide to international representative Carl Bildt, told reporters.

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Taiwanese flee 'front-line' islet

Andrew Higgins in Tung Chu Island, Matsu archipelago

IT TAKES Chen Chi-ming little more than a minute to sprint from his house along a puddled path to a Taoist temple and down into what must be Taiwan's loneliest bomb shelter.

Burrowed into a rain-lashed bluff barely a dozen miles from the scene of China's latest war games, and even closer to the Chinese mainland, the reinforced bunker was built decades ago to protect scores of people from the shells of the People's Liberation Army (PLA).

Should war break out today, Mr Chen may have to tremble alone. Nearly everyone else on his street has fled to Taiwan proper, seeking more secure protection from China's military. "It's impossible to know what China might decide to do next," said Mr Chen, who has stocked a warren of underground rooms with provisions.

Many Taiwanese, separated from China by more than 100 miles of sea, can shrug off Beijing's bellicose rhetoric and seemingly endless displays of firepower. Nonchalance does not come easy, however, on Tung Chu island, the closest Taiwanese territory to the latest phase of war games.

"We are all furious that the Chinese communists are showing off their military on our doorstep," said Tsao Chang-shun, the top official for the string of islets known as the Matsu archipelago. "Of course people are worried."

Mr Tsao estimated that, of a civilian population of 587 on Tung (Eastern) Chu and nearby Hsi (Western) Chu, fewer than 200 remained.

Gale-force winds and driving rain seem to have kept the Chinese navy in port on Monday. A PLA ground force of more than 150,000 troops, massed along the coast a few miles away, was reported to have begun its part in massive combined manoeuvres that will straddle Taiwan's first democratic presidential election on Saturday. The PLA's latest sabre-rattling is an attempt to put voters off President Lee Teng-hui, the election front-runner.

Virtually the only people left on Tung Chu are hundreds of Taiwanese soldiers pointing anti-aircraft guns out to sea, digging trenches and, for the first time in years, roaring tanks into bunkers cut into the rock.

On the main street is a ramshackle row of empty video game parlours, silent karaoke bars and grocery shops. Merchants who stayed to watch their shops curse China for ruining business. Soldiers, usually their best customers, are mostly confined to their bunkers and pillboxes.

On a fine day, the mainland is clearly visible from Tung Chu, a barren speck dotted with statues of Chiang Kai-shek and huge slogans demanding vigilance and, one day, vengeance against the PLA for driving Generalissimo Chiang from the mainland in 1949.

Duma 'resurrects' USSR

James Meek in Moscow

RUSSIA'S parliament, the Duma, voted overwhelmingly last week to renounce the agreement confirming the break-up of the Soviet Union, casting doubt on Russia's future recognition of the independence of 14 neighbouring countries, including the Baltic states and Ukraine.

The vote appears to have no immediate legal force. Members of the Communist party, which moved it, admitted afterwards that it was a political gesture and insisted it would not harm relations with other former Soviet states.

But the sentiments expressed in the resolution will alarm the rest of the former Soviet Union and could lead to dangerous expectations of imminent "liberation" in two already tense pro-Russian regions of the near abroad, Crimea and the left bank of the Dnestr river in Moldova.

The Communist leader Gennady Zyuganov, the favourite to beat Boris Yeltsin in June's presidential elections, fears that his rival is trying to steal his image as the best guarantor of the reintegration of the former Soviet peoples. But it is a long way from President Yeltsin's vague plan for a loose confederation of Russia, Bielarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, which could be fleshed out later this month, to the vote, which many will see as a Communist statement of intent to restore the Soviet Union.

President Yeltsin wasted no time in condemning the "scandalous" Duma vote. "Neither Ukraine nor any other former Union republic is going to march into the Soviet Union with a red flag," he said.

The arcane terms of the denunciation, approved by 250 votes to 98, involved cancelling a previous decision by parliament in December 1991 to annul the agreement setting up the Soviet Union almost 70 years before. In a second vote, the Duma declared legally valid a March 1991 Soviet-wide referendum supporting the union's continuing existence.

The gesture is likely to be popular among Russian voters, but will make the task of pro-integration politicians in countries such as Bielarus and Ukraine much harder in the face of heightened nationalist suspicions.

Junta claims poll win

James Jukwey in Lagos

NIGERIA'S military government said on Monday that Western nations should stop supporting opposition elements and back its own democracy programme following a huge turnout in municipal polls at the weekend.

The ballot was the first step in military ruler General Sani Abacha's programme to hand over power in 1998, a timetable criticised by the West and opposition groups as being too slow.

"America and the European Union should read the handwriting on the wall and have a rethink," the information minister, Walter Ofonagoro said. "The massive turnout of voters in defiance of the call for a boycott . . . should tell the international community that an overwhelming majority of Nigerians accept the head of state's transition to a civil rule programme."

The local council poll on Saturday attracted so many people that electoral officers were unable to cope.

The election was the first since the army annulled a presidential vote in 1993 that would have ended military rule. Gen Abacha, who seized power in the chaos that ensued, announced his programme for transition to civilian rule last October.

Nigeria has been in crisis since the annulment, and Moshood Abiola, the wealthy businessman believed to have won the presidential election, has been detained since June 1994.

The National Democratic Coalition (Nadeco), which backed him in proclaiming himself president, let its members take part in the local council poll, which was held on a no-party basis.

Nadeco-Abroad, based in London and made up of exiled members of the coalition, denounced the poll and called for a boycott, as did the Campaign for Democracy pressure group.

Under the system, voters register on election day and then queue behind the candidate, or a poster of the candidate, of their choice. — *Reuter*

IMF to give Africa $25bn

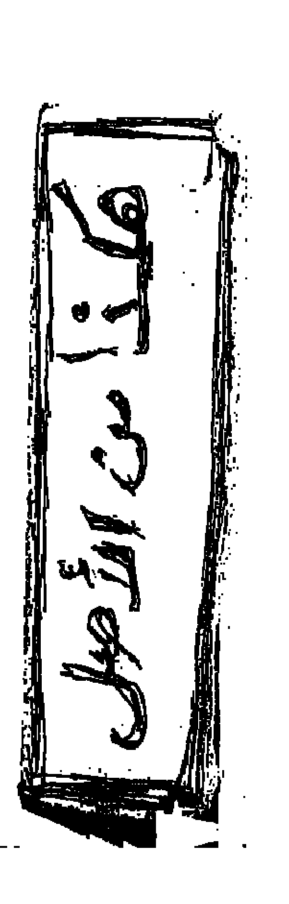
THE UNITED NATIONS secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, last week announced the largest UN undertaking in history — a $25 billion initiative for Africa spread over 10 years, ***writes Victoria Brittain.***

The special initiative, which was launched in New York with a live satellite link-up to the Organisation of African Unity headquarters in Addis Ababa, is an unprecedented commitment by the world body to one region.

The first of two main targets for the money — most of it from redirecting existing resources — is the OAU's conflict prevention programme, widely acclaimed for its work in averting open war in Burundi.

The near-collapse of the state in several countries in west and central Africa makes funding this programme urgent.

The second key area is education and health. Declining school enrolment and primary health care augur ill for the future.



The Week

UNDER a ground-breaking settlement of a lawsuit brought by smokers, Liggett Group, the US's fifth largest tobacco firm, will contribute 5 per cent of its pre-tax profits for the next 25 years to a nationwide programme to help smokers give up. Meanwhile, one of Philip Morris's former leading scientists alleged that the company controlled levels of nicotine in cigarettes in the full knowledge that it was addictive.

Washington Post, page 14

SEVEN people, believed to be Asians, were killed when masked men threw petrol bombs at a restaurant in the Gulf island state of Bahrain, according to a news agency report.

HOURS after his election, Sierra Leone's new president, Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, appealed to refugees from its civil war to return home.

TENS of millions of dollars allocated by the US Congress for Aids research in 1994 has been spent either on studies unrelated to the disease or on administrative expenses, according to three reports.

MONITORING of Iraqi weapons programmes may have to continue for another 15 to 20 years, Rolf Ekeus, head of the UN Special Commission, said.

PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe was declared the winner of a presidential poll in which just over 30 per cent of Zimbabwe's registered voters took part. He won a new six-year term with 92.7 per cent of valid votes cast.

A GROUP in Brazil concerned about the plight of underpaid police officers claimed responsibility for killing three street children and warned that "the blood ritual will not stop".

A WINNER is still to emerge from Iran's recent elections, with only 139 results for the 270-seat parliament having been declared. Meanwhile, Tehran said it is to cancel the residence permits of 1.5 million Afghan refugees, requiring them to leave within a year.

TAKUMI OGAWA, the deputy mayor of quake-ruined Kobe, doused himself with kerosene and burnt himself to death. He left no note but had previously complained that Japan's highly centralised government had made rebuilding the city much more difficult.

ROME'S chief examining magistrate, Renato Squillante, was arrested in an anti-corruption investigation launched by Milan's "clean hands" prosecutors.

FRENCH film director René Clément has died, aged 82.

Terrorism summit lets Iran off hook

Derek Brown in Jerusalem and Emad Mekay in Sharm el-Sheikh

THE outcome of last week's brief anti-terror summit in Egypt fell far short of Israeli and American hopes for a united stand against Islamist violence and condemnation of Iran's alleged sponsorship of terrorism.

Instead, the 27-country summit produced a statement of studied blandness, condemning "terror in all its abhorrent forms, whatever its motivation, and whoever its perpetrator, including recent terrorist attacks in Israel . . ."

Iran was not mentioned. Nor was there any progress on specific new anti-terror moves.

There was, however, a pledge by the summiteers to co-operate more closely, particularly in identifying the sources of extremist groups' funds and cutting them off. They also agreed to set up a committee to prepare more precise suggestions and report back in 30 days.

In the immediate aftermath of the summit, intelligence officials, including the CIA director, John Deutch, met to discuss closer co-operation.

According to US officials, the aim was to build a close working alliance which would swap information, and perhaps mount joint operations. The officials said the co-operation would start between Israel and the US; and could be extended to Jordan and the Palestinian self-rule authority to form the basis of a kind of anti-terror Interpol.

The Palestinian president, Yasser Arafat, fared marginally better than Israel, winning oblique recognition of his complaint that Israel's blockade of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is undermining the peace process.

Reading the final statement at the end of the four-hour summit, the US president, Bill Clinton, spoke of the participants' support for the Israeli-Palestinian agreements, and their decision "politically and economically to reinforce it, to enhance the security situation for both, with special attention to the current and pressing needs of the Palestinians".

The summit was jointly and hastily called by President Clinton and the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, after the recent wave of suicide bombings in Israel, which claimed 62 lives. It was held in Sharm el-Sheikh, a small holiday resort at the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula.

The final statement had been drafted in advance, although only just. Officials had wrangled over the tone and content of the communiqué, with Israel pressing for a more strident attack on the Islamists and Iran, and the Arab countries insisting that the main thrust should be support for the peace process.

The summit itself heard a succession of speeches, both pious and passionate, condemning violence.

The most outspoken, not surprisingly, was by the Israeli prime minister, Shimon Peres, fighting for political survival in the aftermath of the suicide bombings, and in the shadow of a general election on May 29.

"Terrorism knows no borders, so borders must not restrain action to smash the terrorist snake," he said. "This terrorism is not an animal. It has a name. It has an address. It has a bank account. It has an infrastructure. It has a network camouflaged as charity organisations. It is spearheaded by a country, Iran."

President Arafat, looking gaunt and grim, promised to confront terrorism "and uproot it from our land". But he lashed out at Israel's tactics since the suicide bombings, accusing it of reoccupying Palestinian lands.

"This blockade and collective punishment are exhausting us. Its continuation provides a fertile ground to extremism and violence. Collective punishment has never been the proper tool to provide peace and stability," he said.

There followed speeches by others less intimately acquainted with the region: Presidents Boris Yeltsin of Russia and Jacques Chirac of France, Britain's John Major, Chancellor Kohl of Germany, Felipe González, the outgoing prime minister of Spain, among them.

● Pressure led by the US for tough action against Iran — accused of backing terrorism in the Middle East — produced its first result last week with Germany's confirmation that it has issued a warrant for the arrest of Tehran's top spymaster over the murder of Kurdish dissidents in Berlin.

Comment, page 12



President Clinton looks on as President Mubarak retrieves his papers at the peace summit

Clinton goes to Israel's aid

SENIOR US officials began talks at the weekend on a £65 million US package of anti-terrorist aid and a commitment of full co-operation in the campaign to thwart Islamist militant groups like Hamas, *writes Derek Brown in Jerusalem.*

President Clinton, on a brief visit to Israel last week, renewed his promise of unqualified support for America's closest Middle East ally in the wake of the recent suicide bombs.

The package will include sophisticated bomb-detection equipment and other technology, and when President Clinton left Israel he left behind the secretary of state, Warren Christopher, and the CIA chief, John Deutch, for detailed talks on new measures.

"First the United States will immediately begin to provide Israel with additional equipment and training," the president told a news conference in Jerusalem. "Second, our nations will join together to develop new anti-terror methods and technologies. Third, we will work to enhance communications and co-ordination between our nations, as well as other governments who have joined with us in the war against terror."

President Clinton heaped praise on Israel, promising that the US would stand by it through thick and thin. The compliment was returned by the Israeli leader, who said of Mr Clinton: "He is a great leader, but no less than that a moving friend."

● Palestinian security forces arrested a key member of Hamas on Tuesday, according to Israeli television. Mohamed Sanwar, arrested in the Gaza Strip, is one of Israel's most wanted suspects.

UN 'ignored signs of Rwanda genocide'

Victoria Brittain

IN EARLY January 1994, three months before the genocide in Rwanda in which about 800,000 people were killed, the United Nations force commander in the capital, Kigali, sent his superiors in New York a coded cable.

It revealed the Rwandan security forces' training of interhamwe Hutu militia, their boast to be able to kill 1,000 Tutsis in 20 minutes, plans for political assassinations and the forced withdrawal of Belgian troops, and the existence of a large weapons cache in the capital.

The UN chose to do nothing, and its moral authority was fatally undermined by its attempt to pretend it did not know genocide was coming.

This is one of the principal conclusions of an unprecedentedly self-critical report on the Rwandan tragedy, published last week, which was sponsored and financed by several UN agencies and by governments and non-governmental organisations from 37 countries, led by Denmark. Almost every level of the UN organisation comes under criticism for failing to respond to the genocide.

"Humanitarian aid was substituted for political action," Niels Dabelstein, chairman of the report's steering committee, said.

The report's embarrassing findings and its challenging political recommendations have been welcomed by many within the UN and the main donor countries implicated in the failure in Rwanda.

"No one in the donor community can afford to ignore this," one aid official said. The lessons for the deepening crisis in Burundi, Rwanda's own continuing instability, and the seemingly insoluble problem of nearly 2 million refugees still in Zaire and Tanzania almost two years after the genocide, were clear, the official said.

In the first weeks of the systematic killings, the UN secretary-general himself, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, was not on top of the situation and misjudged it, the peacekeeping department was paralysed, and the Security Council could not get its act together and did not regard Rwanda as strategically important, said one of the report's 52 independent experts at the launch in London of the five-volume document.

"The UN failed the test, the early warning signals were simply not heard," said Astri Suhrke, a Norwegian academic and joint author of the most critical section of the study, which reviewed the failure of early-warning systems and conflict management. "Was it possible to organise the machinery of death without the world knowing, in a country where there were numerous UN organisations including a military force overseeing a peace accord, many NGOs, and where France was very heavily involved with the government's machinery in every sphere, from economic to military?" Ms Suhrke asked.

France is the only sponsor of the report to have withdrawn its support when officials saw the first draft and demanded amendments which were only partly accepted by the independent authors.

"Several agencies that came in for harsh criticism stayed with the project — it is a powerful tool, it provides ammunition for those who really want reform in the UN," said Mr Dabelstein, a Danish foreign ministry official.

Khmer Rouge's bloody toll keeps mounting

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Phnom Penh reveals new evidence that the scale of the killings by Pol Pot's regime was even greater than once thought

ONE OF the bloodiest military offensives for many years is under way as government forces attempt to deliver a crippling blow to the last redoubts of Pol Pot in the remote forest and mountains of south-western Cambodia. Their immediate goal appears to be Pailin, a bitterly contested gateway to the Khmer Rouge zone beyond.

Government and military leaders, whose promises of swift victories last year ended in a humiliating rout, are giving away little about the progress of this year's operations. By all accounts the military have mounted a more cautious and systematic offensive, securing supply lines as they advance.

For all their caution, that advance and government hopes of delivering a crippling blow have run into a barrier of bullets and mines. "One or two people are killed every day," says Chey Map, aged 30, hunched over crutches in a Phnom Penh hospital, nursing a mine wound to his leg sustained in western Battambang province, scene of some of the heaviest fighting.

No one outside the military knows how many have been killed, only that soldiers say many are left where they fall and the wood sellers of Battambang report strong demand for cremations of those brought back.

The ever-mounting toll of casualties chalked up to the Khmer Rouge is a brutally apt footnote to one of the most insanely murderous regimes of the century. Eighteen years after invading Vietnamese troops ended Pol Pot's rule, three years after United Nations-run elections they refused to contest, the once fearsome Maoist fanatics who lead the Khmer Rouge look politically spent and geographically marginalised.

Phnom Penh citizens who only a few years ago mulled over the dangers of a Khmer Rouge return are now absorbed in commerce and the internal machinations of the regime. Six flights a day carry tourists to the temples of Angkor Wat near the north-western provincial capital of Siem Reap which only four years ago was briefly occupied by Khmer Rouge guerrillas.

But as the fighting rumbles on in Cambodia's wild west, researchers in Phnom Penh are working on a vast hoard of new data which makes clear that the horrors attributed to Khmer Rouge rule after 1975 were, if anything, understated.

Efforts to compile a detailed map of the mass graves left by the Khmer Rouge when Vietnamese troops drove them from power have yielded results that astonish Western academics who specialised in Pol Pot's rule of horror.

"There are about 100 times more graves than we expected," reports Craig Etcheson, directing a programme organised by Yale University and funded by the US state department. "We originally expected a couple of hundred sites. We were quite wrong. We estimate there were between 10,000 and 20,000 mass graves in Cambodia . . . There is one with 4,000 bodies. The average is in the order of 100 to 250.

Earlier estimates that close to a million people died under the Khmer Rouge's four-year rule are left looking bleakly conservative. A figure of 3 million dead — more than half the population at the time — is left looking less implausible.

If the atrocities were on a greater scale than generally accepted in the West, they also appear to have been more systematic than many previously concluded. A hoard of documents unearthed by the Yale researcher expose the workings of a huge bureaucracy of death, including numerous, lengthy lists detailing the prisoners executed.

"Until recently nobody knew this stuff was there," Dr Etcheson remarks. "They were incredibly meticulous."

The masters of this apparatus have prepared their defences with equally meticulous attention to detail but are on the losing end of a race against time. Pol Pot, now said to have grown stout, suffers from intestinal problems. Nuon Chea, the shadowy No 2 and Khmer Rouge ideologue, has had heart problems that forced him to undergo an operation in Bangkok.

The description came from a senior Khmer Rouge commander whose defection last month, along with more than 350 fighters and another 850 family members who operated in the central Aural region of Cambodia, highlighted the steady haemorrhage of support for Pol Pot since the 1993 elections. "Everybody wants to defect if they can come and live peacefully with the government," said Commander Pong Heng, the most senior Khmer Rouge official to defect to date.

Defections by thousands of lesser Khmer Rouge cadres and followers in the three years since the election have left the government uncontested in large areas of central and southern Cambodia.

But defections are harder for cadres closer to base areas in the west, where Pol Pot and his commanders have perhaps 5,000 hard-core and loyal guerrillas. If the government captured key positions like Pailin or the border base of Phnom Malai "at least 90 per cent of the war will be over", Commander Heng asserted.

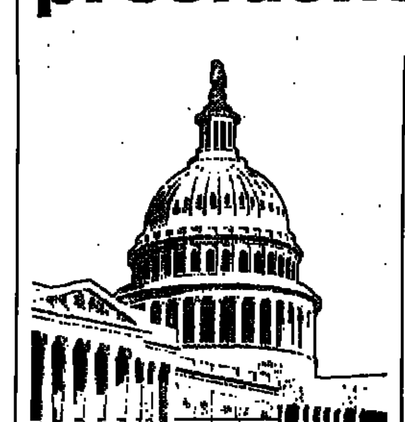
However, unless something changes dramatically very soon they won't, at least not this year.

The government has perhaps another month before the start of the rainy season, which shuts down large-scale offensive action. Unless the military have had more success than previously at building bridges, it leaves troops vulnerable at the end of a shaky resupply line.

The Khmer Rouge may be dying as a political entity but the rebels are far from dead militarily. Pol Pot, says one Western observer, looks set to be able to fight on for another year or two.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 24 1996

All the would-be president's women



The US this week

Martin Walker

SENATOR Robert Dole's nomination is now sealed, by his sweep of the Southern states in last week's Super-Tuesday primaries, and by the retirement of publisher Steve Forbes from the race. So for the first time in American history, an almost parliamentary clash looms in this year's presidential election. A White House incumbent faces the leader of the opposition in Congress, with the Washington legislative process becoming the main arena of their contest.

"I'm a doer, not a talker," is Senator Dole's slogan. President Clinton's political strategists intend to hold him to that, and finally deliver the votes to fund this year's long-stalled federal government budget.

In the substance of trade matters and diplomacy, the promises of a balanced budget, welfare and Medicare reform, and a tough crime policy, there is little to choose between Clinton and Dole. So the Republican is almost forced to target Clinton's character, and to stress the most divisive wedge issues: abortion and gay rights, and affirmative action on jobs and education for blacks and other minorities.

This will be less than edifying. So Dole might do better to stress one other area of contrast, where he brings something unique to modern politics. Dole's chief of staff, his speech writer and media adviser, his foreign policy director, his head of fund-raising and his top field organiser for the campaign are all women.

And whether he or Clinton wins the election, the US will continue to be run by a co-presidency. The day of the president's wife as homemaker passed with Barbara Bush. The US political system had better get used to the new era, in which tough, ambitious, professional women join their husbands in the White House, and get elected to the Oval Office in their own right.

In fact, Liddy Dole has more experience in governing than her husband. Two times a cabinet secretary, a Harvard law school graduate with the extra polish of a year at Oxford, Liddy Dole makes Hillary Clinton look like an under-achiever.

Hillary, nicknamed "Sister Frigidaire" at school, has never hidden her toughness. By contrast, Liddy Dole has always played the role of the ultra-feminine, genteel Southern belle from an old colonial family of North Carolina. Her Washington nickname says it all: Sugar Lips.

Liddy Dole first went into the White House as a liberal Democrat, working as a lawyer on the consumer affairs staff under Lyndon Johnson. She then managed to stay on under Nixon, shifted her party allegiance to Republican, and was appointed Federal Trade Commissioner in 1973. She married Bob Dole two years later, after his divorce from his first wife, a nurse from Kansas, came through.

When Dole's 1980 presidential bid collapsed at the first fence, Liddy joined the Reagan campaign, and was later appointed his Secretary of Transportation. In 1989, President Bush made her Secretary of Labor. For the past three years she has run America's biggest charity, the Red Cross. On leave for the past year, she has campaigned tirelessly for her husband, hitting the road while Senate business has kept him in Washington. They recently spent their 20th wedding anniversary in hotel rooms 2,000 miles apart, on the phone to one another and eating the hotel room service dinner each had ordered for the other as a special treat.

Like Hillary, Liddy Dole faces a few ethical questions, after a Los Angeles Times probe into her $875,000 earning from lecture fees found that not all had been donated to Red Cross charities, as her public disclosure forms claim. More than $243,000 went into her retirement account, and another $147,000 was retained in cash.

And while she insists that all her finances have been run by a blind trust over which she has no control, her former financial adviser, David Owen, tells a different story. Formerly lieutenant governor of Kansas, and Dole's finance chairman in the 1988 campaign, Owen spent a year in federal prison on tax and fraud charges related to his political fund-raising. Now out, and singing like a canary, Owen claims to have been "made a scapegoat" for the Doles.

We shall hear more of this, which may help blunt the damage of Whitewater. Sadly, it may shroud the really interesting phenomenon of Dole's women. They make up the most remarkable political entourage, not just in the US, but in modern politics. More than any other candidate, he seeks out talented women, promotes them from obscurity, trusts them and depends on them utterly. The irony is that they make up the political support team of a highly conservative male, who is committed to opposing a woman's right to decide whether or not she wants an abortion. The irony is even sharper when you consider that not only Dole's wife but his chief of staff, Sheila Burke, began in politics as a liberal Democrat.

Known on Capitol Hill as "the 101st Senator", Sheila Burke, aged 45, is probably the most powerful single woman in Washington. She sets the Senate's agenda for Dole, negotiates for him in committees drafts legislation with the White House and Democratic opposition, and thinks Hillary Clinton is just wonderful.

Burke, a former nurse with an English mother and Irish father, very nearly got Dole to approve the Clinton health reform plan. Senator Malcolm Wallop, now running the Forbes campaign, calls her "very leftwing". Rightwingers regularly demand that she be fired, and Dole equally regularly ignores them.

From working at a hospital in Berkeley, she joined a nurses' lobbying group, and Dole recruited her to be his legislative assistant on health care in 1979. By 1986, she was running his Senate office, and had changed her party affiliation from Democrat to Republican. She is so hard-working and tough that once when she complained of missing breakfast her office colleagues brought her a box of nails on a plate. Still "the best nurse on Capitol Hill", she bandaged an entire busload of Chinese after a traffic accident when Dole was on his way to the Great Wall.

Her husband, who was chief of staff to the Treasury Secretary, Don Regan, and then worked in the Reagan White House, now works for Aetna insurance. That is becoming a problem. He has stock options worth more than $1 million, which will rise and fall depending on the health care legislation that Dole and Burke control. Dole's local Kansas newspapers are publishing stern editorials, and the Democrats' ethics cops are sniffing around.



One of Bob's powerful women . . . his wife Liddy 'Sugar Lips' Dole

THEY ARE also hoping to stir up controversy over Mari Maseng, Dole's speech writer. She is also his campaign's communications director and, as such, she sets the advertising strategy and handles media relations. She has had lots of practice, being married to George F Will, the Washington Post's conservative political columnist, who is also a pundit for ABC-TV.

Dole, who holds the all-comers record for the number of appearances on ABC-TV's top-rated political show This Week, thus often finds himself being lobbed friendly questions from his speech writer's spouse. Maseng wrote Dole a bitterly rightwing speech in response to Clinton's State of the Union address. It claimed "our government, our institutions and our culture have been hijacked by liberals . . . Clinton is the rear guard of the welfare state, the last defender of a discredited status quo".

When the speech provoked a sudden plunge in Dole's opinion polls, Will was one of the few commentators to praise Dole's new aggression. Will also led the chorus of approval after Dole's speech last year, also written by Maseng, which attacked Hollywood for flooding America with "nightmares of depravity".

Loyal to Dole since she joined his 1980 presidential campaign as a volunteer, Maseng became his press secretary in 1988, when Dole's second presidential bid was crushed by George Bush. When Dole became Senate majority leader for the second time in 1994, such connections became highly valuable. Maseng last year earned $198,721 from her last employer, the Japanese Automobile Manufacturers' Association.

The job also gives a particular edge to her vendetta against Dole's Republican rival, Pat Buchanan, a protectionist who wants to slap heavy new tariffs on all Japanese imports. He cites Maseng as a symbol of the way "Japanese industry has bought itself influence in Washington, and hopes to cash in on that investment in a Bob Dole White House".

Buchanan may be looking at the wrong woman. The real symbol of the money power in the Dole campaign is a motherly former typist who has been with him for nearly 30 years. Jo-Anne Coe, aged 53, is an admiral's daughter who first joined Dole in 1967 as a transcription typist. She runs Dole's life, filling out his annual tax returns and also running his political action committee, established to raise and channel funds to Republicans of Dole's choice in campaigns around the country. After Dole became Senate majority leader for the first time in 1984, he appointed her Secretary of the Senate, the first women to be given this top post, akin to Clerk of the House of Commons.

Now the vice chair of his campaign and national finance director, Coe counts as family. Her daughter now works on the Dole campaign.

"Bob Dole hates to fund-raise — that's the purpose I serve," she says. She controls what may be the most valuable single computer disc in Dole's office, the master-list of 314,000 names and addresses of people who have contributed to Dole campaigns in the past.

Dole's utter reliance on women who have been with him for many years left his presidential campaign vulnerable in one crucial area. He has little experience in foreign affairs. Inevitably, when he needed an aide to co-ordinate his foreign policy team, draft the speeches and position papers, he turned to a woman.

Paula Dobriansky, aged 40, went from Georgetown University's foreign service school to Harvard, and was then hired to join the hawks at the Soviet section of the national security council in Reagan's White House. Before she was 30, she was a director on the European and Soviet desk, and then moved on to the human rights job at the State Department.

When the Clintons came in, Dobriansky joined a law firm and built up her credentials on the right by hosting a thoughtful foreign policy TV show on National Empowerment TV, the conservative cable channel.

HER main job, while preparing Dole's campaign policy papers and preparing the "talent list" of likely appointees to a Dole administration's State Department and White House staff, is to reassure the foreign policy establishment over Dole's isolationist rhetoric. Listen carefully, and while Dole can sound like Pat Buchanan, what he attacks is "would-be field marshal Boutros Boutros-Ghali" and the United Nations — not internationalism as such. The weighty foreign policy statement which Dobriansky drafted for Dole was a classic list of US vital interests: no single or hostile foreign power to dominate Europe or the Asian littoral, or the Persian Gulf, or to challenge the freedom of the seas.

In a Dole-Dobriansky world, the US is to be the keystone of a global economic system based on free trade, all secured by the US with support from its reliable Nato allies. Like Clinton's foreign policy, or that of Bush, it is safe and traditional. But the one occasion when Dole has gone out on a diplomatic limb, a woman led him there. Mira Baratta, aged 35, is the foreign policy aide of Croatian ancestry on Dole's Senate staff who locked him into the Bosnian issue.

Dole took her along as interpreter and adviser when he went to Kosovo in 1990 on a fact-finding trip. Serbian police beat up the Albanian demonstrators who had turned out to greet him, killing one before his eyes. From that moment, Dole became convinced that the Serbs were the bad guys, and that the Serbian leader, Slobodan Milosevic, was bent on building Greater Serbia at any price. Dole has brushed aside the furious denunciations her role inspired in Serbia, and the wild accusations of Dole-Baratta plots "to establish an Islamic fundamentalist bridgehead in the heart of Christian Europe".

Famously loyal to his staff, Dole inspires devoted loyalty in return, above all from the handful of women whose careers this curmudgeonly old conservative from Kansas has nurtured.

But it is hardly the way the feminist pioneers imagined their young sisters would one day seize the commanding heights, and use them to overturn that first feminist victory on abortion rights.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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Croats supped with the devil

Ed Vulliamy in Jajce reveals how Croat commanders and gangsters conspired to trade with the Serbs in a betrayal of their Muslim allies and their own troops

BOSNIA'S war ended last year after Croat and Muslim allies drove their common Serb enemy into retreat, cutting a swath across western Bosnia. The Muslim-Croat Federation, forged with United States backing, is a cornerstone of international policy in the Balkans.

But the federation is fraught with tensions, and the Guardian has uncovered details of a murky backstage alliance between the Croats and their supposed Serb enemy, designed to engineer a carve-up on the ground. Bosnian Croat leaders, together with gangsters, were all the while dealing with — and even working for — the Serbian leadership in Belgrade.

This secret alliance defies the federation and the basis of the Dayton agreement. Its discovery will also cut to the hearts of Muslims who trusted their Croatian partners, and Croats to whom alliance with Serbia is an obscenity, as they mourn the wreckage of the Danube city of Vukovar and count the Croat victims of Serb concentration camps.

Croatia supplied the Bosnian Serb army with fuel throughout crucial phases of the war, long after the federation was founded. Investigations show a Croat hardline *éminence grise* in the federation, Mladen Naletilic, to have been an agent for the Belgrade secret service since 1989.

Angry Croatian soldiers reveal how Kresimir Zubak — the federation president on whom the US relies to implement the Dayton accord — forged alliances with Serbs on the battlefield. A Croat commander-cum-gangster, indicted by The Hague war crimes tribunal for a massacre, emerges as the key link in a Serb-Croat axis.

The trail begins with General Djorde Djukic, the Serb logistics chief who fell into Bosnian government hands in January and was revealed to be a Yugoslav army general indicted by The Hague.

Contrary to all public statements, Gen Djukic broke under interrogation after his capture last month. Despite denials from his lawyers, he made statements about his involvement in the war, while under interrogation in Sarajevo and awaiting extradition to Holland. These confessions detail a quid pro quo arrangement between his army and the Croats.

Bosnia's war was fought in the wake of a meeting between Croatia's President Franjo Tudjman and Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic in spring 1991 at Karadjordjevo, Serbia. The agenda was the division of Bosnia into two "ethnically pure" states with "just a bit left", as Mr Tudjman later put it, for the Muslims.

The scheme disappeared in the fog of war. Even the Croat-Muslim war in 1993 was consigned to history by skilful US diplomacy and the Dayton accord. But on the ground, the Serbo-Croat carve-up remained alive.

Gen Djukic knew that an army marches on its petrol tank, that fuel is its lifeblood. He said as much in the four-sheet "additional statement" he gave his captors on February 5 this year. Each sheet is signed, and the general affirms: "This statement corresponds to what I have said, and I accept it as my own. The authorities behaved correctly."

To move his Yugoslav tanks, troops, artillery and munitions into and across Bosnia, Gen Djukic needed a minimum of 900 tonnes of fuel a month. Despite the embargo on Yugoslavia and a supposed embargo by Yugoslavia on the Bosnian Serbs, Gen Djukic says he had "no problems with supplies of fuel until the beginning of 1995".

Supplies from Yugoslavia had become unreliable by mid-1993. So, Gen Djukic says, the Bosnian Serb prime minister, Vladimir Lukic, began negotiations with the Croats on his behalf.

Gen Djukic recalls meetings with the Croats in the no-man's-land village of Rujan, near Grahovo. They were attended by the Serb defence minister, Susan Kovacevic, and the vice-president of the "Herzeg-Bosne" Croat statelet, Jadranko Prlic.

Gen Djukic says fuel from the Croatian port of Split was taken in 15-truck convoys, "escorted by the Croatian police" to be handed over at Rujan or Stolac, near Mostar.

The deal "continued for about 18 months . . . until the end of 1994" — nearly a year after the cessation of Croat-Muslim hostilities and the founding of the federation.

There was a massacre on the Vares front, in the Muslim village of Stupni Do, where a unit of the Bosnian Croat army (HVO) murdered 16 civilians. Its leader, Ivica Rajic, has been indicted by The Hague. Captain Rajic was a familiar and menacing figure in the hardline Croat town of Kiseljak. A former Yugoslav army captain, he had come to command the HVO's 2nd Operational Group. He was an impeccably anti-Serb Croat nationalist. But Gen Djukic recalls him in another role.

"The continued transactions over fuel were the result of contact between our intelligence officers . . . and members of the HVO, the main one being a person called Capt Rajic from Kiseljak." Gen Djukic says Capt Rajic organised shipments of fuel, and the forced evacuation of the Vares Croats, with the chief of Serb intelligence, Colonel Petr Salapora.

KISELJAK thrived on Serbian business and held the keys to the black market in besieged Sarajevo. When the time came for the Muslim and Croat allies to try to break the siege in the summer of 1995, the HVO had private doubts. Kiseljak was also the headquarters of the United Nations body Unprofor. Intelligence wiretaps on local military communications reveal the sabotage of the joint offensive by the HVO.

The HVO was assigned to attack a key Serb stronghold, Kokoska. But a phone call on July 18 between the Serb deputy security commander, Marko Lugonja, and an intermediary called Zdanko reveals a plan for the Serbs to let the Croats film a supposed victory on Serb territory to "fool the international community and the Muslims".

To some Croat soldiers in central Bosnia, co-operation with the Serb enemy was anathema. The men of the HVO's 110th Brigade fighting near Tesanj were appalled by the neighbouring 111th Brigade at Zepce fighting alongside the Serbs.

The men, now back home in Jajce, recall the most extraordinary moment of their war. On April 3, 1993, the deputy president of "Herzeg-Bosne" (now President Zubak) breezed across their front lines from Serb territory.

The Croats say President Zubak was holding meetings with General Major Momir Talic, the Serb commander in Banja Luka, and Colonel Vladimir Arsic of Prijedor — former director of Manjaca concentration camp in which both Croats and Muslims were tortured.

On August 5, 1993, Mr Zubak again crossed into 110th brigade country from the Serb side. He had met a Serb major, Mirko Slavuljica, to discuss bringing the two units together. "I remember thinking I didn't understand the war any more," says Darko P, a Croat soldier. "We fought the Chetniks; they killed our people in Jajce, and my brother at Kupres. Now it was like we were video game soldiers. These people had the joystick and were dealing with the Chetniks."

President Zubak declined to respond to these allegations at the weekend, but an official at his headquarters denied he favoured alliance with the Serbs.

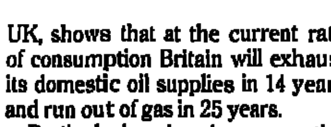
Another link to the Serbs was Mladen Naletilic, known as "Tuta", a powerful figure in "Herzeg-Bosne". Tuta became the HVO's head man in Croat Mostar, scene of a ferocious siege against the Muslim quarter and of recent tensions in the federation. There are several testimonies on Tuta's brutal conduct in Mostar, including allegations that his soldiers violated Muslim women.

Tuta has unimpeachable Croat nationalist credentials. In exile in Australia and Germany, he campaigned against the Yugoslav regimes, both communist and Serbian nationalist. He was fund-raiser for Hrvastsko Ognjiste (Croatian Hearth), a neo-Ustashe group nostalgic for the Nazi puppet regime. In 1990, he returned to Croatia, and then to Herzegovina on the eve of the Yugoslav onslaught. But Tuta was working for the Yugoslavs.

Small wonder that, alongside Capt Rajic's Kiseljak, Tuta's fiefdom of Mostar and Stolac was the crucial junction for the joint endeavour of Croats and Serbs.

The Week in Britain James Lewis

UK firms implicated in 'torture weapons' trade



IN THE WAKE of the "arms to Iran" scandal, Britain was accused last week of still being involved in the murky trade of selling electronic "shock batons", classified as torture weapons, to notorious regimes such as that of Zaire, even though they are banned in Britain under the Firearms Act.

A TV investigation found that two companies — based in West London and Salisbury — were prepared to accept orders for the batons, at $75-$115 each, to be supplied through third countries such as South Africa, because it would be illegal to ship them from England.

One of the companies confirmed that it had supplied the batons to Nigeria, Libya, Mexico, Sierra Leone, Burma, Peru and Angola, though a director said: "We don't supply equipment that is knowingly used for torture."

That batons are made, and exported illegally, from Mexico, where the head of a manufacturing firm admitted they could be dangerous, "especially when put in the groin". The same TV team revealed last year that batons made in Germany had been supplied to Lebanon and Saudi Arabia by Royal Ordnance, a former state-owned concern which was sold to British Aerospace.

Britain may, however, join with the Pentagon in declaring a ban on landmines. America's top general John Shalikashvili, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, has already decided that landmines are "morally indefensible," and senior British defence officials were flying to Washington this week to review their defence of anti-personnel devices as legitimate weapons.

AFTER MONTHS of damaging speculation, the leader of the "new" Labour Party, Tony Blair, is to commit his party to renationalise Railtrack, the company which will operate all railway track, signalling and stations after privatisation.

Mr Blair has so far gone no further than to say a Labour government would restore a "publicly owned, publicly accountable railway". This has not satisfied some factions of the party, or the trade unions, who have demanded to know how the railways can be renationalised at minimal cost to the public purse.

Railtrack will be the subject of a £2 billion flotation in May, and Mr Blair's hand has been forced because, by law, Labour must disclose its plans in the sale prospectus for the information of — and possibly a deterrent to — prospective investors.

In recent years Labour has shied away from using the word "nationalisation" as being a vote-loser. The public's hostility to rail privatisation, however, is growing rather than falling away, so Labour may have little to lose by announcing its buy-back plans. Its problem will be in finding a suitably inexpensive formula for doing so that will not frighten the voters.

RESEARCHERS in the Department of the Environment were shocked by their own findings when they sought to measure the effectiveness of official conservation policies. Their report, Indicators of Sustainable Development for the UK, shows that at the current rate of consumption Britain will exhaust its domestic oil supplies in 14 years and run out of gas in 25 years.

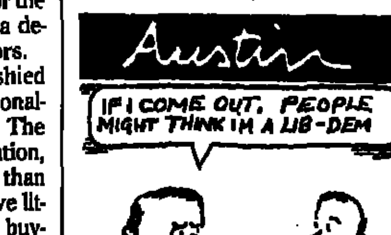
Particularly alarming was the finding that, in spite of more efficient car engines, the average Briton travels less far for each gallon of fuel consumed than in 1970. This is largely because of fuel wasted in traffic congestion, and the dramatic rise in bus and rail fares, which has made use of private cars relatively more advantageous.

BRITAIN'S record on race relations was harshly criticised by the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), which claimed that a disproportionate number of people who die in policy custody, or suffer police brutality, are from ethnic minorities. It also condemned high black unemployment, under-representation of ethnic minorities in politics, the army and the police, and the large number of black children expelled from schools.

It recommended widespread changes to race legislations, criticised the absence of a Bill of Rights and the failure to extend the Race Relations Act to Northern Ireland. It did, however, welcome new legislation to tackle racial harassment, efforts to recruit ethnic minorities to the police and the provision of education grants to minorities.

PADDY ASHDOWN, leader of the Liberal Democrats, joined in the condemnation of the Government's ban on gays in the armed forces, saying that many of Britain's greatest soldiers were gay and revealing that he himself had, as a soldier, been saved from death by a gay officer colleague. And he criticised Labour for ducking the gay issue and pandering to prejudice.

The ban on gays in the forces is based on the claim that homosexuality is "intolerable" to the overwhelming majority of servicemen. This was not the experience of Nick Elwood, a former trumpet-major in the 5th Royal Inniskilling Dragoon Guards, who revealed that he had once got "engaged" to a paratrooper in the Rhine army. He said his behaviour did attract the attention of the military police, but they called off their investigation when they discovered that 20 per cent of the soldiers in his band were also gay.





The once familiar police box and its hi-tech replacement

Time moves on for 'Tardis'

YEARS after the familiar blue police box, made famous by Dr Who, disappeared from the streets, its hi-tech, multi-lingual, touch-screen replacement has arrived, *writes Duncan Campbell*.

A prototype will be making its debut on the streets of east London in a few weeks. The new box is part of a project called ATTACH, the somewhat tortuous acronym for the Advanced TransEuropean Telematics Applications for Communications Help, which may not yet have quite the same frisson as Dr Who's Tardis.

It is described as a multi-media kiosk and will be placed at first in shopping centres, council offices, and attached to police stations.

The experiment will be part-funded by the European Commission and similar tests will be carried out simultaneously in Scotland, Sweden, the Netherlands and Greece.

Gary Fitzpatrick, of the Metropolitan police's department of technology, said: "Eventually it could be used for showing your driving licence or for paying a fine."

Death fails to halt use of CS spray

Gary Younge

POLICE will continue to use CS spray, they insisted this week, despite calls for its suspension from MPs, civil liberty groups and anti-racist organisations following the death of a Ghanaian-born asylum seeker early last Saturday morning.

Ibrahima Sey, aged 29, died after he was sprayed with the incapacitant, in the first case of its kind. Neighbours say about 10 officers overpowered Mr Sey following a domestic disturbance at his home in Ilford, Essex.

After a struggle the police handcuffed him and put him into a police van. He was taken to Ilford police station and then to King George's hospital, Ilford, where he was later pronounced dead.

"There is no evidence to suggest the CS spray contributed to this tragic death. There are no plans to suspend use of this spray, which has been used on more than 20 occasions so far, and we are not aware of any cases of long-term adverse reactions," said a spokesman for the Association of Chief Police Officers.

A post-mortem examination by three pathologists indicated that Mr Sey suffered from hypertensive heart disease and had collapsed following a period of exertion.

Beef hormone ban upheld

Stephen Bates in Brussels

BRITAIN stood out against its European Union partners on Monday in opposing an extension to the ban on growth-promoting hormones in beef cattle, despite overwhelming evidence of consumer resistance.

However, agriculture ministers of member states meeting in Brussels confirmed the EU's existing ban on hormones despite a looming clash with the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, all of which want Europe to open its markets to hormone-treated beef.

Only Britain opposed the ban, claiming there is no scientific evidence that the hormones are harmful to humans.

A British official in Brussels said: "We believe that science should be followed in this area. This is a problem of international trade and you cannot control international trade on emotional grounds. To renew the ban could be seen as provocative."

The ministers also extended the ban to cover substances such as angel dust. Although Britain accepts that angel dust is potentially harmful to the cardiovascular system — not least to the farmers who inhale it while sprinkling it on fodder — Douglas Hogg, the agriculture minister, argued that its use should be allowed for pregnant cattle.

The extension of the ban on hormones came just a week before the EU is to enter negotiations with the US at the World Trade Organisation. America, whose beef exports to Europe have slumped by more than two-thirds since the ban was introduced in 1988, is demanding that the market should be opened up once more under the terms of the Gatt world trade deal.

Meanwhile, the agriculture ministers agreed tough sanctions against farmers caught injecting their herds with hormones and increased inspections to catch culprits.

Illicit trade in hormones used to promote rapid weight gain is thriving. The drugs are believed to be smuggled from eastern Europe in a trade reputed to be worth at least $100 million a year in Belgium alone. Other countries where hormone treatment is known to occur are France, Spain and Ireland.

Despite the ban, it is estimated that six out of every 10 beef cattle in Belgium are injected. Last year an inspector responsible for monitoring meat was shot dead. His killers have not been caught.

Under the sanctions, farmers would lose their subsidies for rearing cattle — about $135 per animal — for a year, and for a second offence they would lose EU funding for five years.

Inquiry hears of drought evacuation plan

Martin Wainwright

MASS evacuation of parts of the industrial North was suggested at the height of last year's Pennine drought, it emerged on Monday at the opening of a public inquiry into Yorkshire Water's handling of the crisis.

More than 1 million people in Bradford and Halifax could have been involved if a £27 million water-tankering operation had not been adopted — under government pressure — to prevent reservoirs from running dry.

Yorkshire Water defended its drought management to the inquiry, but warned of draconian water-saving ideas for the year ahead. Heavy water-users may be targeted for selective metering if control of leakage from pipes continues to prove obstinately slow to take effect.

Ann Beattie, emergency planning officer for Bradford council, outlined the evacuation contingency to John Uff QC, chairman of the independent inquiry, which is expected to last for two weeks. She said that at meetings in August, Yorkshire Water had dismissed tankering as impossible "because too many lorries would be needed for any worthwhile effect.

"In the event of reservoirs running dry, the only logical outcome was that Yorkshire Water would be looking to local authorities to evacuate the area."

On Monday night Yorkshire Water denied there had been firm plans for evacuation. "This has never been discussed at senior level between the council and ourselves," a spokeswoman said.

Yorkshire's record was attacked by the National Rivers Authority, which also accused the company of failing to introduce emergency measures quickly enough at the start of the crisis last summer. Barrister John Barrett said: "It is clear that [Yorkshire] failed to reduce leakage, in spite of a commitment to do so. The failure to achieve reductions has materially contributed to the frequency of drought orders in the 1990s."

The inquiry continues.

Coma patient awakes after seven years

Clare Dyer

A MAN who for seven years was thought to be in the same permanent unconscious state as the "right to die" Hillsborough victim, Tony Bland, has become aware of his surroundings and is communicating with hospital staff.

At one time the health authority then caring for the man in the north of England discussed asking the High Court to approve the withdrawal of the artificial feeding keeping him alive.

But his wife was implacably opposed and the idea was not pursued, although relatives have no right legally to veto doctors' decisions in such cases.

The case of the former businessman, diagnosed as in a persistent vegetative state (PVS), casts serious doubt over experts' ability to diagnose such cases reliably, and raises further doubts about safeguards to ensure against mistakes in right to die cases.

Last week a brain-damaged musician at the same hospital, who had also been diagnosed as in PVS, told police via a computer and buzzer how he was attacked on a late night train nearly two years ago.

The businessman's case is more remarkable because of the length of time he was thought to be unconscious, after an anaesthetic error during a routine operation. Cases like his, where the brain has been starved of oxygen, are also thought to be less likely to be wrongly diagnosed than head injuries.

Not all the English cases have been as thoroughly investigated as Tony Bland's, which went to court in 1992 and ended in his death the following year. In 1994, the High Court and Court of Appeal approved a decision by doctors caring for a 24-year-old man diagnosed as in PVS for 2½ years, after a huge drugs overdose, not to reconnect his feeding tube, which had become dislodged.

In the light of the latest case, the Official Solicitor's office, which represents patients' interests in such cases, is expected to widen the tests used to determine whether patients are beyond recovery.

Unionists condemn 'sell-out' on arms

Guardian Reporters

THE Northern Ireland peace process was plunged deeper into crisis last week when unionists furiously denounced reports that the British and Irish governments have agreed not to let the question of paramilitary weapons derail all-party talks.

David Trimble, the Ulster Unionist leader, said that a Dublin-London "joint consultation document" had all the hallmarks of having been cooked up by the Northern Ireland Office and the Irish government.

The paper contains two proposals which cut across the opinions of the main unionist parties and which they regard as another concession to the IRA and Sinn Fein.

These are that both London and Dublin have committed themselves to not allowing the decommissioning of paramilitary weapons to be dealt with in isolation from other aspects of peace negotiations and so risk talks grinding to a halt on the first day.

And secondly that the two governments have agreed to co-chair a management committee to oversee all three strands of the peace talks, covering relationships between the north and south of Ireland, Northern Ireland's internal settlement, and the future of relations between London and Dublin.

According to the Ulster Unionists this means that John Major has reneged on promises that Dublin will not be given a say in any matters which are purely the concern of Northern Ireland — something which they see as another step towards joint authority.

The single issue of decommissioning of arms will not be allowed to derail talks in Northern Ireland, President Clinton and the Irish prime minister, John Bruton, both stressed on Sunday in St Patrick's Day statements from the White House.

Mr Bruton insisted in his White House speech: "We are not willing to allow any one item, be it decommissioning or anything else, to prevent progress on other items."

President Clinton made an extraordinarily direct St Patrick's Day appeal to the seven leaders of the army council of the IRA, telling them they did not have to trust the British government to proceed with peace talks, since the honour of the United States stood behind any deal that might be made. "The United States has placed its good faith in the ultimate outcome of the product," he said from the White House.

Meanwhile, in north Belfast a girl aged about 10 was shot dead and a man was critically injured on Friday last week when a gunman fired through the window of a house.

A nurse living nearby went to the girl's aid but she was declared dead on arrival at hospital. She was sitting on the man's knee watching television when the gunman struck. The man, in his early 20s, was understood to have been visiting the family. He was critically ill in hospital. A number of men pulled up in a car outside the house. One got out and opened fire.

On the same day, Northern Ireland slid further towards a return to violence when loyalists warned the IRA that unless it swiftly restores the ceasefire, its attacks would be matched "blow for blow".

The warning came as the Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, arrived in the United States under increasing pressure from President Clinton for a new ceasefire. Mr Adams's flight coincided with an admission by the IRA that it bombed London's Brompton Road earlier this month.

Last week's statement from the Combined Loyalist Military Command, the umbrella leadership of the Ulster Volunteer Force, Ulster Freedom Fighters and Red Hand Commando, said that in the month since the Docklands bombing it had "withstood the provocation" that had killed "innocent British fellow-citizens".

● Detectives hunting the IRA bombers who targeted London's Docklands on February 9 were expected to travel to Northern Ireland this week. Commander John Grieve, head of the anti-terrorist branch, was to meet with senior Royal Ulster Constabulary officers trying to trace the movements of the lorry used to transport the 1,000lb bomb.

Police believe the flat-backed transporter was modified somewhere in the border region of South Armagh, but security sources in Belfast said this week that the terrorist team responsible had not been identified. Two men were killed and 40 people injured in the Docklands blast.

'Loyalty' bar limits Irish

IRISH and Commonwealth citizens are to be banned from applying for up to 125,000 civil service jobs from June as a result of a cabinet decision to eradicate the "anomalies" in a European Union labour market directive, *writes Alan Travis*.

The posts, which cover a quarter of the home Civil Service, have been defined by the European Court as requiring "special allegiance to the state" and so should be reserved for UK nationals. The jobs include army, police and other posts which involve exercising "the power of arrest, entry, search or seizure".

The Cabinet Office confirmed that the prohibition will come into effect from June, but said it would not affect Irish Republic or Commonwealth citizens already working in these sensitive jobs on May 31.

Fears over reactor design

Simon Beavis and Paul Brown

A FULL-SCALE safety investigation has been launched at two of Britain's most modern nuclear power stations after an emergency shutdown during refuelling raised fears of an inherent design fault.

The incident occurred at Heysham 2 power station in Lancashire on January 29 when a seven-tonne fuel rod became stuck in the reactor core during refuelling.

A second attempt to lower the fuel assembly into a refuelling channel failed and safety devices automatically shut down the reactor for a second time.

Preliminary investigations found that the fuel channel through which the rod was being lowered had become distorted so that a casing at the top of the fuel assembly jammed.

Government safety inspectors widened the new safety procedures to Torness, an advanced gas-cooled reactor of the same design in Scotland, until the precise cause of the incident has been established.

Both the Nuclear Installations Inspectorate (NII) and the company admitted that the investigation was trying to determine whether the incident was a symptom of an inherent design fault or a freak incident.

A spokesman for Nuclear Electric said 150 refuellings had been carried out at Heysham since the company was cleared to change rods while the station was still generating power — so-called "on-load refuelling". This was the first incident of its kind.

NII believes there are indications that it was a "one-off" but there are fears that distortions are the result of the industry's recent record of running the stations at maximum power with resultant high temperatures putting strain on the machines.

If the problem cannot be corrected and the industry is forced to shut down the reactors for refuelling, the economic viability of the industry will be threatened.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 24 1996

Guardian reporters on the week when a lone gunman brought 'absolute hell' to a small Scottish community

A misfit, who liked boys and guns, took revenge on a society that he felt rejected by


Hamilton: nursed his wrath

THOMAS HAMILTON, aged 43, sat down in his scruffy, damp Stirling flat and tapped out what was to be one of his final angry complaints against the world. Less than two months later he acted out the revenge he sought against a society that had "contaminated" and "poisoned" people against him.

In his neatly typed letter, he complained that "parents had heard vague gossip" that he was a "pervert". When "previously happy people are poisoned in this way they become hostile and unapproachable", he warned.

Hamilton was hostile and unapproachable himself. In a confused childhood, he had been brought up to believe that his mother, Agnes, was his "sister" and his grandparents, Jim and Kate Hamilton, were his "parents".

His real father, Thomas Watt, last saw his son when he was 18 months old, when he broke up with Agnes. He has since remarried and had four more children.

Hamilton's grandfather, Jim, now aged 88, whose wife died in 1988, left the two-bedroom council flat he shared with his grandson after a row. He has not spoken to him for four years.

Hamilton's mother, Agnes, said she did not recognise the killer as her son. She said she had never known him to be angry or to bear a grudge. "He seemed to get on with everybody that I know of," she said.

But Hamilton's big problem was that he hardly got on with anyone. He was in his early 20s when he was removed from the Scout Association in 1974, less than a year after he had become a leader. The grudge he felt at his dismissal never left him.

He was expelled because he was seen as irresponsible rather than because of any sexual malpractice. Former Scout Commissioner Comrie Deuchars said: "His organising skills were dismal. He was not right for the job. There was no planning to his activities. He was in it for self-glory rather than the interests of the boys."

Ever since that departure, Hamilton pursued his twin interests of boys clubs and guns. Despite the rumours and misgivings of parents, he was surprisingly successful in setting up clubs and recruiting members.

One 15-year-old from Stirling, who attended Hamilton's clubs, described what became the standard procedure in the clubs. "He used to say to us: 'You should take off your T-shirts and have bare tops.' So you would just have your shorts on. He used to say 'Let's see who has the best build.'"

A 13-year-old said: "He was really mad about fitness. He would video the gymnastics. My dad banned me from going. He used to say to me: 'You can come around and see my gun.' I thought he was a right weirdo."

Hamilton hired school halls from three separate local authorities to run sports clubs for boys over a period of at least 10 years. One by one they became anxious about his activities and terminated the agreement.

Tom Dair, then education chairman at one council, took the decision to cease the lets. "There was nothing tangible that we would want to draw to the attention of the police. It was more of an instinctive response to a number of things that had been building up."

One regular recipient of Hamilton's anxious pleading was the local MP and Scottish Secretary, Michael Forsyth, who has revealed that the killer came for advice to his surgeries. Mr Forsyth discussed Hamilton with police but they were unable to find evidence against him which could result in a prosecution.

In a letter to parents last August, Hamilton referred to persistent rumours about him circulating in Dunblane. "I am writing to briefly explain matters and dispel any myths and gossips."

THE fascination with guns appears to date back almost as far as his obsession with youth clubs. The family who bought his failed DIY shop in the mid-eighties reported finding gun pellets at the rear of the premises.

He belonged to more than one gun club. The president of one, the Stirling Rifle and Pistol Club, George Smith, said: "How do you know when someone is going to flip their lid and do something like this?" The Callander Gun Club turned down his membership application. "I knew of his involvement with the youth clubs of his own founding," said the secretary, Raymond Reid.

Hamilton owned two 9mm semi-automatic pistols, one of them a Browning, a .357 revolver, and a fourth handgun. His firearms certificate was in order.

He had also been a long-standing customer of D Crockart and Sons, a sporting guns and fishing tackle shop in Stirling, where he regularly bought ammunition.

Robert Bell, the proprietor, said that he had known Hamilton for 15 years. "We have had dealings with him under the Firearms Act," a shaken Mr Bell confirmed. "He seemed quite normal at the time."

But Hamilton was privately raging. He blamed the council for the collapse of the business that he had run for 14 years.

He moved into photography, mainly so that he could take pictures of the boys in his charge. The local camera shop refused to develop his film.

All the while, Thomas Hamilton nursed his wrath to keep it warm.

Nation faces up to tragedy

THE DAY after Thomas Hamilton strode into Dunblane primary and shot dead or wounded 31 people, the headmaster described how he ran to the school gym to find a scene of "absolute hell" where 16 of his youngest pupils and a teacher lay dead or dying.

Ron Taylor, aged 45, who was first to arrive after Hamilton had turned one of his four guns on himself, echoed the shock and disbelief of the Scottish town: "Evil visited us. We don't know why; we don't understand it, and I guess we never will."

He told how he feverishly checked over the bodies of class Primary One to see who had not been fatally injured. "We tried to identify those who were still alive and those whose wounds could be treated. We did what we could — it was just so little."

A bereaved couple, Willie and Kareen Turner, spoke of a five-hour wait at the school before they learned their daughter Megan was among the mainly five-year-old victims. Mrs Turner said: "The waiting seemed to go on for ever. It was 2pm before we were finally told that Megan was gone."

Medical staff who attended the scene said nothing could have prepared them. Brenda Fleming, an accident and emergency consultant, said: "There were bodies everywhere. It just seemed they died where they stood, it didn't seem they had long enough to move an arm or leg. I was walking around from body to body to body and saying 'That child and that child must go first'."

Tributes arrived in Dunblane from all over the world as two official inquiries were announced, and the media masses descended on the small town.

Flowers, teddy bears and messages were placed at the school gates. Later they were taken inside to protect them from the rain. Many messages simply read "Why?"

An inquiry ordered into the killings is expected to follow closely those held in Scotland to examine the Lockerbie and Piper Alpha disasters and the more recent Chinook helicopter crash.

The inquiry will be separate from the fatal accident inquiry — similar to an inquest in England and Wales — which by law must be carried out for the Scottish Procurate Fiscal. Police are gathering evidence for that investigation, which could take weeks.

Scottish law prevented Central Scotland's chief constable, William Wilson, himself a resident of Dunblane, saying any more than that he was not looking for anyone else in connection with the tragedy.

Michael Forsyth, the Scottish Secretary, told the Commons that the inquiry would be headed by Lord Cullen, the senior Scottish judge.

Lord Cullen, who is considered one of Scotland's top legal brains, carried out the 13-month Piper Alpha inquiry. He demonstrated an ability to absorb highly technical data on the oil rig fire, which cost the lives of 167 offshore workers in July 1988.

The Cabinet has already decreed that the inquiry must look at the effectiveness of existing gun controls and at whether the various authorities who came into contact with the Hamilton took appropriate action. It will also examine school security.

'Evil visited us. We don't know why; we don't understand it, and I guess we never will.' — *Headmaster Ron Taylor*

It is likely the inquiry will try to reconstruct Hamilton's background, including his life in Dunblane, how he was first granted a gun licence in 1977 and such matters as the extent of his involvement in running youth clubs.

Meanwhile, Scottish police issued stern warnings to journalists against intruding on the privacy of Dunblane families as the victims' funerals were held this week.

Lord Wakeham, chairman of the Press Complaints Commission, appealed to the media to reduce the scale of their presence in Dunblane. But more press arrived with the VIP sympathisers.

On Friday last week John Major and Tony Blair went to Dunblane, laying wreaths at the school gate and praising the resilience of staff in the face of Hamilton's "evil act". The unprecedented joint mission included the Prime Minister proposing that the gymnasium be demolished.

The school was due to reopen this week. Counselling will be available for teachers and the 700 pupils.

On Sunday millions of people across Britain turned their thoughts to Dunblane. For 60 seconds shoppers paused in supermarkets and broadcasters fell silent. Trains were deliberately delayed. Scores of service stations suspended fuel sales. Airports and ferry terminals requested respect for the memory of the 17 victims.

In Dunblane itself, a service from the 13th century cathedral was transmitted live to the nation. The Reverend Colin McIntosh could offer no theological explanation for the "bitter, dreadful reality" that Dunblane was waking up to.

Also on Sunday the Queen, with the Princess Royal at her side, arrived in Dunblane. She knelt on the wet tarmac and set a circle of pink and cream flowers outside the school. Princess Anne added a bouquet of snowdrops, bound in tartan ribbon. The Queen's note read: "With deepest sympathy — Elizabeth R."

The royal party later went to Stirling Infirmary, where five pupils and two teachers were still being treated. Three other children were in another hospital but all 10 were improving.

One of the children delighted to see the Queen was Ben Vallance, aged five, who made a dash as soon as the Queen and the Princess Royal arrived, and had to be chased by a royal bodyguard.

Ben, who was shot in the elbow during the massacre, then hopped on a tricycle and rode around the ward while the other children and their families talked to their royal visitors.

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Media circus . . . journalists descended on Dunblane from all over the world PHOTOGRAPH: IAN WALDIE

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Tories will fight 'stupid' 48-hour week

Julie Wolf in Brussels and Seamus Milne

THE Government vowed it would resist its latest humbling at the hands of the European Court of Justice last week, when the advocate-general rejected its attempt to overturn European Union legislation setting a 48-hour limit to the working week.

The "opinion", which must be confirmed by the full court, is a landmark defeat in the Government's long-running battle against the European Union's social legislation and is certain to intensify calls from Tory critics for the Luxembourg court's powers to be curbed.

On a sensitive day for the Government's European balancing act, Eurosceptic MPs seized on the decision. Sir Teddy Taylor called it "very alarming and worrying". Bill Cash said the attempt to force through working time limits under health and safety provisions was "typical of the way the court and commission operate — using underhand, backdoor methods to bypass sensible working practices".

Philippe Leger, the court's advocate-general, ruled that member states were right to enact the working week legislation as a health and safety measure, which is carried by majority voting. The Government had argued that the law should have been considered under "harmonisation" procedures. This would have allowed Britain to veto the measure, which then could have taken effect only with a British opt-out.

At Commons question time, John Major said: "It is precisely because of legislation like this and stupidities like this that the EU is becoming uncompetitive and losing jobs to other parts of the world."

The court's opinion was welcomed by Labour and trade unions. "This humiliating defeat for the UK government is also a victory for British employees. Alone among EU states, Britain has no limits on hours of work whatsoever," Michael Meacher, the shadow employment secretary, said.

A European Commission spokeswoman said the Social Affairs Commissioner, Padraig Flynn, hoped the court would adopt the interim ruling when it issued its judgment later this year.

Under the EU directive, considered a centrepiece of the Social Action Programme, employees cannot be required to work more than an average of 48 hours a week, including overtime. They must be offered at least 11 hours off each day and one day off a week.

The legislation sets a minimum of four weeks' paid holiday and says that for work days of over six hours a break must be provided. Several groups of workers are exempted, ranging from lorry drivers to trainee doctors. Employees are allowed to work longer hours if they want to and the 48-hour week is averaged over four months.

● Britain must speed up the promised reduction of its fishing fleet, the European Fishing Commissioner said last week, or the industry will not receive a single ecu towards restructuring, *writes Paul Brown*.

At a press conference to launch the 1996 round of negotiations on the future of EC fishing policy, Emma Bonino made a stinging attack on the UK government's repeated inability to keep promises to adhere to EU policies. British fishermen would continue to suffer because access to available money would be blocked.

In Brief

ROSEMARY WEST, convicted of 10 murders at Winchester crown court last year, is appealing against her conviction. As part of her defence, she will argue that her case was tainted by pre-trial media coverage.

THE operator of the Plymouth-registered trawler, the Pescado, which sank off the Cornish coast with the loss of all hands in 1991, was jailed for three years for manslaughter.

HELEN Chadwick, one of Britain's most innovative and individual artists, has died at the age of 42.

MORE THAN 5,500 RAF men and women received their marching orders in the biggest single manpower cut since the end of the second world war.

THE BBC's adaptation of Jane Austen's Pride And Prejudice won top prize in the English Tourist Board's annual England for Excellence Awards. It was also named BBC programme of the year in the Television and Radio Industries Club awards.

A BRITISH-BORN pilot who claims he was tortured by the Kuwaiti government and members of the emirate's Al-Sabah royal family has failed to convince the Court of Appeal in London that the Gulf state should be made liable through English courts.

IAN HARGREAVES, aged 44, former editor of the Independent, was confirmed as editor of the New Statesman. His appointment follows the purchase of the leftwing weekly by millionaire Labour MP, Geoffrey Robinson.

A BRITON was sentenced to 15 years in prison by a court in Seattle, Washington, for his role in a smuggling operation in which 72 tons of cannabis were seized in a boat 400 miles off the United States coast.

A FERRY captain who went missing from his ship is believed to have taken his own life by jumping into the North Sea. John Carroll, aged 51, was last seen when he left the bridge of the P&O ferry, European Tideway.

TWO Kurdish asylum seekers were each jailed for four years for firebombing a bank as part of a campaign against Turkish-owned property in London.

A PRIMARY teacher permanently injured by a 10-year-old boy has been awarded record compensation of £82,500. Hazel Spence-Young, aged 48, left the profession after being punched on the chin by the boy as she tried to restrain him.

TONY Blair suffered one of his biggest rebellions since becoming Labour party leader when 25 Labour MPs defied the whip and opposed the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

TWO MEN who organised a "cockfighting convention" were jailed and 10 spectators were fined in what is only the fifth prosecuton since the sport was outlawed 150 years ago.

CUNARD is to withdraw its cruise liner, Sagafjord, after it became becalmed in the South China Sea last month while carrying 500 passengers on a world cruise. The 24,000-tonne vessel was left without power after a fire in the generator room, and had to be towed to the Philippines.

THOUSANDS of prisoners face restrictions on their visits as part of a new package of measures to tackle the growing problem of drug abuse in Britain's jails.

A £500,000 perks scandal in the NHS led auditors to demand that a former executive, Carole Tietjen, be banned from ever working in the health service again.

HURMIJA MUJIC, a Bosnian girl paralysed by shrapnel, was evacuated for treatment in Britain with the help of donations from Guardian readers.

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Guns kill, not just people

AT A DIGNIFIED and impressive parliamentary question time last week, the Prime Minister rightly said he would be looking to see what help could be given to the injured and bereaved in Dunblane. Much counselling help is already to hand, although history suggests that as the horror of the massacre recedes for the nation, the funds for the necessary long-term counselling and support services will fade too. There is, however, one front on which he could move, even before the the public inquiry into the mass killings reports. Let him remember that one of the most therapeutic releases a devastated community can be given is the knowledge that action will be taken to prevent a repeat of their tragedy. John Major should signal his support for plugging the serious gaps in firearms control which remain even after the tighter legislation that followed the 1987 Hungerford massacre.

British gun laws are among the tightest in the world, but that does not mean they can't be improved. Even more important than our laws is our anti-gun culture. Unlike the Americans, the British — with the exception of the traditional shooting community — dislike guns. Criminologists have shown that even armed robbers in the past have been wary of them, frequently carrying unloaded weapons or guns loaded with blanks. The shotgun, a robber's favourite weapon in earlier decades, could not be more inaccurate. It was carried to control, not to kill. That culture has weakened over the past decade but could be reinforced by both legislative and regulative initiatives.

The British gun lobby, which now parrots the empty US slogan of "people not guns kill people", needs a robust reply. The reason why the US gun homicide rate is 150 times as high as the British is due to the open availability of guns there compared with the UK. The main reason why we have such a low proportion of homicides caused by guns — only 10 per cent of the total — is our tight gun controls. Tighter controls would reduce them even further. Contrast the current controls that the police apply to their own disciplined members who apply to become firearms officers with the procedure for applications from the public for firearms certificates. Police officers are subjected to the most rigorous screening and psychological tests; members of the public are given much more perfunctory scrutiny. Only 1 per cent of applicants are refused. Currently, there are almost 1 million people licensed to hold a gun.

There are various loopholes to be closed. More important still, a much more rigorous vetting procedure is needed to identify unsuitable gun holders. John Stalker, the former Greater Manchester deputy chief constable, expressed concern last week at the readiness of crown courts to overrule chief constables' decisions to withhold a firearms certificate. That appeal procedure needs looking at too. But, above all, the firearms consultative committee needs to go back to fundamentals and review the "right-to-own" policy. Why not insist on all handguns being held by gun clubs? No one should be allowed to take them home. That just might have stopped the Dunblane killer.

Stay as long as it takes

ANOTHER WEEKEND of pitiful happenings in Bosnia continues to show up the hollowness of the peace. Haris Cvrk, a 14-year-old boy, is killed and his mother seriously injured after stepping on a mine in the Sarajevo suburb of Nedjarici. In another suburb — Grbavica — the main covered market is torched by Serb arsonists before being handed over to the Muslim-Croat Federation. And in a third suburb — Ilidza — where the transfer has already taken place, those few Bosnian Serbs brave enough to stay behind are being terrorised by young Muslim thugs.

What is the reaction to this of the "international community" — if it deserves the term? Reports that the Pentagon may review its long-standing opposition to a wholesale ban on landmines will be too late for Haris Cvrk, even if it leads to an effective UN ban (and assuming that Britain too stops equivocating on the subject). It will also be too late for all those killed by mines already laid — or who are going to be killed by them — in Angola and Cambodia, and Bosnia too, with its estimated 3 million mines already in place. It will still be a small gain, helped ironically by the casualties inflicted on US soldiers in Bosnia. But the problem will not go away when the US leaves at the end of the year.

Nor will any of Bosnia's other problems. This running tragedy has been subtly downgraded in Western perception: the renewed "ethnic cleansing" generates colourful tales of drunken Serbs or marauding Muslims, but no political storm. When the UN peacekeepers were on the spot, it was open season for harsh criticism of their alleged softness and lack of clear instructions. Somehow the sight of Nato soldiers standing idly by, while innocent members of all communities are victimised, does not arouse the same outrage. And Nato's grotesque determination to suit a presidential timetable and get the hell out of Bosnia by the end of the year, consigning the Bosnians to further instalments of real hell, is simply taken for granted.

This context of timetabled withdrawal is crucial: Nato is making no attempt to arrest the "ethnic cleansing" which accompanies the separation, according to the Dayton agreement, of Bosnia into two "entities". To do so would imply a commitment — which does not exist — to stay on until the stated aims of Dayton, including the return to a multi-ethnic society, are achieved. The hard fact is that the political realities of Bosnia have been based from the start upon ethnic and territorial division. Division has been the sub-text of every international plan including the current one.

What can be done? In April a conference in Brussels will try to raise $5.1 billion of urgent rescue aid — only one-third of what Bosnia really needs. That will be the time for governments to lay out hard cash instead of platitudes. In the meantime the international Contact Group on Bosnia starts a new round this week in Geneva. What is needed is not cosmetic patching up, but a firm resolve to protect those Bosnians seeking to resist "ethnic cleansing", and a commitment by Nato and the UN to stay as long as it takes.

An empty summit of peacemakers

THE photo was the message at Sharm el-Sheikh last week where one Israeli prime minister and 14 Arab leaders gathered at the beckoning of one US president. Bill Clinton's own officials did not gloss over the symbolic nature of the proceedings: such a large gathering was, they said, little more than "a big photo opportunity". The chance to take part in an occasion billed as "the summit of the peacemakers" was not something, said the Israeli spokesman, to be thrown into the wastepaper basket.

The mere fact of the meeting having taken place is calculated to improve the chances at least of Shimon Peres (and possibly of Mr Clinton). However empty the proceedings, they do go some way to convey the impression of an Arab world, or parts of it, conferring a measure of approval on Mr Peres and the peace process. With the latest polls showing that even Israeli youth is turning towards the Likud opposition, he certainly needs all the help he can get. Mr Peres's own contribution to the summit was geared to a domestic audience. He lectured the Palestinians on their "obligations" to crack down on "murderous command centres" in their midst, and he identified Iran as the "spearhead" of terrorism in terms that most experts would firmly dispute. Significantly the final statement avoided either issue. Instead it referred to the "current and pressing needs of the Palestinians" — an indirect reproof to Israel for the severity of its policy of blockading the West Bank and Gaza. None of the participants, can honestly believe that this type of collective punishment does anything but sow the seeds for more bitterness and violence.

Last week in Jerusalem Mr Clinton committed $100 million of funds for anti-terror technology designed to confer a more practical result on the summit. There is talk of forming a counter-terrorism working accord between Israel and the US, with more limited links to Jordan and the Palestinian Authority as a further objective. But it is pure illusion to suppose that an "anti-terror Interpol", if it could be achieved, would do more than trim the margins of the problem. The reasons why young men and women volunteer to blow themselves up will not be addressed by pieces of hi-tech equipment. It is a pity that the summit did not talk less about "waging war" on terrorism, and more about how to rekindle the mood for peace.

Old battles emerge in the nervous nineties

Martin Woollacott

IT IS enemies time again in the West. The Yellow Peril, the Mad Mullahs, and even the Red Menace are back with us as if they had never been away. In the Taiwan Strait, Chinese threats are countered by the US Seventh Fleet.

At Sharm el-Sheikh, Islamist terrorism is confronted by international rhetoric, if not by much else. And even though Russia was on the "right" side at the Summit of the Peacemakers, there is still the rise and rise of Russian nationalism and neo-imperialism, which could give us a communist president by the summer.

Mrs Thatcher caught the mood of the moment, although with her usual capacity to take everything to the point of caricature.

In her strange speech at Fulton, Missouri, a missile shield for the US and Europe takes the place of Winston Churchill's iron curtain. She spoke of rogue nations, but also of China, and of the dangers of a revanchist Russia — of the very same circle of enemies, even if they are not wearing quite the same ideological clothes, with which the West contended in the old days. Her implication is that just as Europe and the US were forced by events in the second half of the forties to discard their illusions about the peace that had been won in 1945, so events are pushing us toward a similar moment of truth in the second half of the nineties.

It would be hard to deny that old patterns of conflict are re-asserting themselves. The US navy has been called the midwife of independent Taiwan, which would not have survived in 1950 without American warships. Its services, it seems, are still required in 1996.

In Eastern Europe, the question of who shall be the primary influence — Russia or the West — is raised in new form by the dispute over Nato membership. In the Islamic world, the long battle with those who resist Western influence and will not accept Israel staggers on, even though some former enemies have become partial allies.

There has to be a careful judgment of what has gone wrong in the last few years in the relations between major states, in the evolution of societies like Russia and China, and within the Islamist resistance in its many forms. Everybody senses a slippage toward aggression, and it is easy to construct nightmares. The starting point must be that the West has indeed been a victim of its own illusions. Three, in particular, have misled. The first is the sugary idea that there are no real conflicts of interest. The second is the self-deluding idea that Western countries are never themselves aggressors, or determined holders-on to what they have historically controlled. The third is that money and prosperity are absolute solvents of conflict, that in consumption can be found a replacement for the consummation of historic ambitions for power, revenge, and self-respect.

The more hardheaded approach notes that countries and civilisations do not normally give up their historic ambitions because ruling institutions change. Rather, ruling institutions change because the previous ones were failing to match those ambitions.

In Russia, the most consistent element in the varied and changing period of reform has been the impulse to reverse decline and overcome the failures of the past. Democracy, the free market, the dissolution of the Soviet Union were, for many, although not all of those who took these decisions, ultimately instrumental measures in the search for Russian greatness. For some Russians, democracy ought to be part of greatness. For others, reversion to a qualified authoritarianism might, equally, be instrumental also. Whatever serves the cause.

With China, it was always a mistake to imagine that Chinese ambitions could be satisfied by economic growth and trade alone, with the addition of some "security architecture" for east Asia, an architecture aimed at binding China into collective institutional arrangements.

China wants greatness, power, and respect. Economic growth and trade are means to that end, but not the only means, and a security architecture that reduced Chinese influence to a single vote is not an attractive option. The sham war against Taiwan is not about Taiwanese independence, but about Taiwanese independence of mind.

In the Islamic world, we find other societies agonised over their relative decline and aspiring to greatness. A certain kind of war against Israel and the West has survived, sadly but not surprisingly, in these circumstances. It is sustained by Iran's assumption of the leading role in the attempt to restore the fortunes of Islam, and by rivalries between Iran and other Muslim states.

A NASTY CHINA, a less nasty but still worrying Russia, a terrorist front in the Middle East, is not the most brilliant of prospects. It is even dangerous. But this is not Mao's China, not Stalin's Russia, nor is it the hopeless Middle East of the past. Russia will be voting soon, even if we worry about the results. China is restive precisely because Taiwan is holding free elections. The struggle in the Middle East is fought out in the spaces between elections, whether those just completed — and not completely fraudulent — in Iran or those to come in Israel. Democracy is everywhere, even if it is sometimes the democracy of the daft.

We could not expect to discard overnight the traditions of power and primacy that motivate states and civilisations. Both the US and western Europe also live off this kind of capital. The difference is that they were, historically, the winners and intend, with adjustments, to remain so. The other difference is that they frequently fail to admit either of these things.

What ultimate settlement there might eventually be of claims to power and leadership that are, in principle, irreconcilable, is not easy to see. More equality between states and civilisations, to take away the bitterness. More wisdom, to modify the appetite for control. More self knowledge, so that we are served by history rather than broken by it. These are difficult prescriptions, as we edge along the often narrow path between appeasement and confrontation.

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The Washington Post

Controlled Parade of Wills Over Taiwan

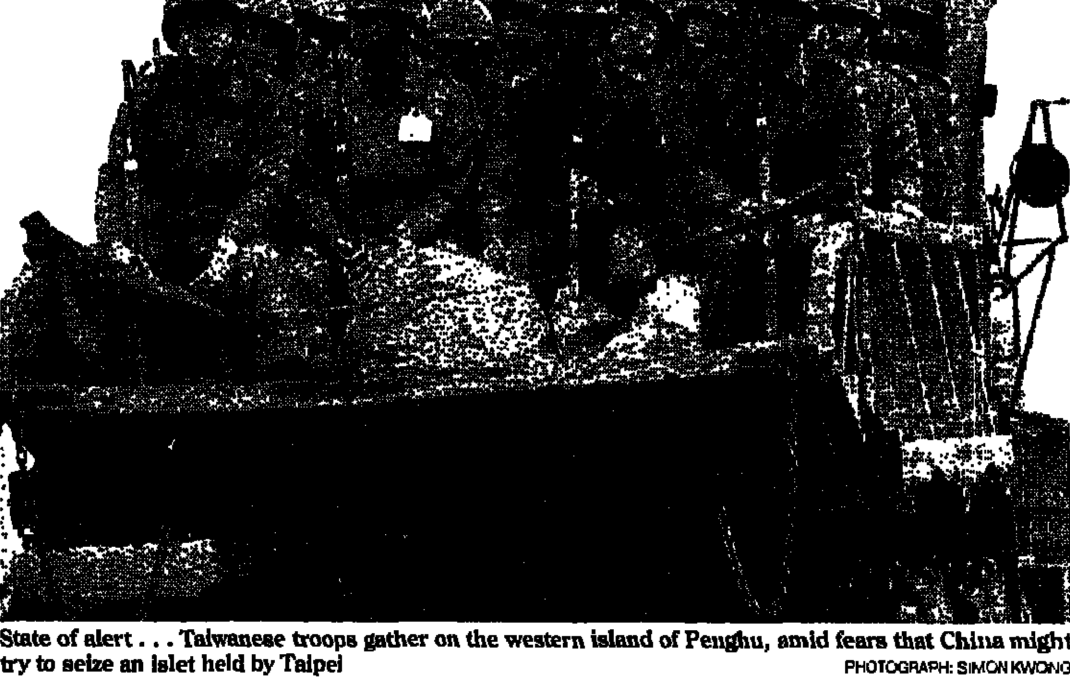
COMMENT
Stephen S. Rosenfeld

CHINA might well wish that Taiwan was Hong Kong — close by, vulnerable, finally dependent on Chinese favor, due to drop into Beijing's pocket on an early agreed schedule. But Taiwan is Taiwan — 100-plus miles out in the sea, tough and not easily intimidated, democratic and thus eligible for the loosely codified but real protection that flows to a budding democracy when the single great power, the United States, has a soft spot for fellow democracies.

Hence the so-far controlled parade of wills now unfolding in the Strait of Taiwan as China and the United States, with their ships and guns, send alternating signals of national intent. China is insisting that Taiwan is "a part of China, not an American protectorate." The United States is demonstrating that like it or not Taiwan's political system makes it a special sort of American protectorate — although the term itself grates on American ears.

Americans hope that China will be content to convey its readiness to back up its traditional claim to sovereignty over Taiwan, and then return to political talks and economic business as usual. In Washington and throughout Asia, there is a palpable longing to see the tensions that have been raised in the runup to Taiwan's March 23 elections subside. The obvious basis for this result would be China's recognition that its military responses are counter to interest and Taiwan's recognition that its assertions of independence too are counter to interest. Otherwise, hold your hat.

It seems that Taiwan did not so much design as stumble upon a strategy of embracing free-market democracy as the ticket to its post-Cold War security. The Taiwanese, in moving along the democratic path, were responding to American prodding. But for years the ruling Nationalist clique had refused to get on the slippery slope of putting its power at risk in elections. That's the risk it is taking now. It is earning American respect the hard way, and counting on a security payoff.



State of alert . . . Taiwanese troops gather on the western island of Penghu, amid fears that China might try to seize an islet held by Taipei PHOTOGRAPH: SIMON KWONG

Meanwhile, Communist China has been digging in against any even faintly similar domestic turn. Like Taiwan, China has opened up to the world economy. But unlike Taiwan it remains dead set against a political opening. The mainland regime seems not to have considered that Taiwan's democratic progress, measured against Beijing's own reluctance to liberalize, could become a core factor in the strategic equation.

All this was happening while the end of the Cold War was freshening American interest in the promotion of democracy as an instrument of a global post-containment policy. As the tensions of the past few weeks have shown, moreover, a feeling is emerging in American opinion that it would be unthinkable to let a country in the democratic column be bullied by a police state. Hong Kong and Macao, foreign colonies now facing imminent reversion to Chinese sovereignty, are living reminders of the uncertainties of relying simply on Chinese self-interest and self-restraint not to kill the geese laying those golden eggs.

The Chinese are now blaming the Taiwanese for initiating, and the Americans for indulging, a grave and sly policy of alienating part of a nation's claimed and agreed sovereign territory. In other circumstances this has been considered a cause of war. It is serious business.

You can say that it is Taiwan's democratic privilege to get itself into as much trouble with China as it desires. Still, as the patron to Taiwan's client, the United States cannot allow its China policy to be made exclusively in Taipei. To the extent that Taiwan borrows an American shield, Washington has a claim to expect policy deference. The United States must be the sole steward of any decision involving the threat or use of American military power. Washington has to weigh its interests in China as well as Taiwan.

The United States cannot afford to allow itself to be drawn into reluctant support of either side's position on the strictly Chinese political issues lying between them. Washington has a large interest in ensuring that democracy is encouraged and defended in Taiwan. But this interest does not translate into open-ended support for Taiwan's political program of independence. The American favor for an exclusively peaceful approach to matters of Chinese-Taiwanese reunification was right when it was conceived 20-odd years ago, and gets better with time.

CIA Briefed Cuba After Shoot Down

Thomas W. Lippman and Guy Gugliotta

SENIOR CIA officials held an unannounced and highly unusual meeting with Cuban intelligence officers in New York last month to show them U.S. intelligence data demonstrating that two small U.S. civilian planes were not in Cuban airspace when a Cuban jet fighter shot them down, Clinton administration officials said last week.

Washington arranged the encounter and provided entry visas for six Cuban military intelligence officers to call the bluff of Cubans who were telling the United Nations they had solid evidence that the unarmed Cessnas were downed inside Cuba's 12-mile territorial limit, the senior U.S. officials said.

The ploy worked, they added. Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina, who had been telling the United Nations he had "all the conversations, all the maps" to prove Cuban airspace had been violated, backed down after the CIA briefing. Reports at the time noted that Robaina retreated from his position but did not say why.

In a separate development, tapes of radio broadcasts were made available last week showing that regardless of whether the two U.S. planes were in Cuban airspace, the government of Fidel Castro had good reason to believe they were headed Havana's way.

Six weeks before the shoot down, on January 15, Cuban American exile leader José Basulto admitted on the U.S. government-owned Radio Marti station to having violated Cuban air space two days earlier. Basulto also suggested it might happen again and promised to "do something" every month to challenge Castro.

In another Radio Marti broadcast on January 16, a paid commentator taunted the Castro government by suggesting that Cuba failed to take action against planes operated by Basulto's Brothers to the Rescue group because of the "deterioration of its ability to respond", said commentator José Casin.

When Basulto told Radio Marti about his exile group's January 13 leaflet drop over Havana, he was already under investigation by U.S. civil aviation authorities for violating Cuban airspace in July.

Asked how U.S. officials reacted to the January incident, Basulto said the U.S. government shutdown had put authorities "on vacation", a "positive thing" that had helped his organization pull off the operation.

Radio Marti, a surrogate station owned by the U.S. government, broadcasts 24-hour-a-day Spanish language news, entertainment and public service programs heard throughout Cuba but generally unavailable in the United States.

The station has drawn frequent criticism both inside and outside the U.S. government for news coverage skewed in favor of hard-line anti-Castro exile groups based in Miami. The station has been the subject of an internal audit by the U.S. Information Agency, its parent organization, for more than a year.

FBI Cracks Down on Detroit Mafia

Pierre Thomas

WITH numerous indictments and arrests federal authorities have attacked the alleged leaders of the Detroit Mafia, continuing a crackdown against organized-crime families who remain a major threat to the United States, Attorney General Janet Reno said last week.

Jack William Tocco, described by federal officials as one of the country's "longest-tenured and most powerful" La Cosa Nostra bosses was arrested without incident last week at his West Palm Beach, Florida, vacation home as were three other alleged members of the Detroit Mafia family. The four were among nine of 17 indicted suspects accused in 30 years of crimes including various forms of mayhem, racketeering and extortion.

"Organized crime is still a cruel and destructive element in America's social fabric," said Reno in announcing the arrests at her weekly news conference. ". . . It remains a priority at the Justice Department . . . They continue to be a threat that requires our constant vigilance."

In the past 12 months, the heads of crime families in Boston, New Orleans, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Newark and New York City have been indicted or convicted as part a renewed thrust against groups that many in the general public considered near death after the conviction of New York crime lord John Gotti four years ago. Forty-two top figures in La Cosa Nostra, including seven bosses and underbosses, have been arrested or successfully prosecuted during the past three years.

"We have weakened them, but by no means have we killed them," said Rick Mosquera, head of the FBI's organized-crime division, in a telephone interview. About 10 percent of the Mafia leadership is now in jail, and those who remain at liberty are attempting to diversify and rejuvenate their criminal enterprises, he said.

Until this week's arrests, the Detroit crime family remained largely intact, with more than 100 associates and 29 "made members," or those who took an oath of allegiance through blood letting.

The Detroit indictment capped a five-year FBI investigation that included electronic and physical surveillance as well as the testimony of several Mafia associates who became informants for the government.

The investigation uncovered alleged conspiracies to commit murders and efforts to corrupt public officials, including a Justice Department tax lawyer in the 1980s. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, mob leaders schemed to infiltrate several Las Vegas casinos, according to federal authorities.

Most of the Mafia family's alleged criminal activities centered on protection rackets, extortion, loan sharking and sports bookmaking. Violence or the threat of it, according to a 25-count indictment, was the official tool for implementing decisions. The indictment vividly illustrates charges that a criminal subculture still thrives outside the legitimate economy.

Although the Detroit Mafia ran its own independent racketeering outfits, they also routinely targeted for extortion "individuals unlikely to complain to the authorities because they were themselves engaged in conducting unlawful sports bookmaking and operating illegal [numbers] lotteries," the indictment states.

For example, the Mafia, constructed and detonated a "prototype destructive device, that is, an improvised bomb" to intimidate Ramzi Yaldoo, the operator of an illegal lottery "to pay them money." The terrorizing of Yaldoo didn't end there. They later shot out the windows of one of his businesses to make sure he got the point.

In another case cited in the indictment, Mafia members demanded "insurance payments" from Saginaw businessman Harold Stern to "insure the safety of Stern and his family." In another, prosecutors say they hired Frank Bert Whitcher to "beat Carlo John Catenacci, a Detroit businessman, in connection with a plan to induce him to pay them money."

Cigarette Firm Agrees To Pay Up

John Schwartz

ATTORNEYS general for five states announced an agreement last week to end state suits against cigarette maker Liggett Group.

The states have sued the major tobacco companies to recoup some of the millions of dollars in Medicaid expenses each pays out for treating tobacco-related illnesses. The first five states to file suit, before the settlement was announced, were Florida, Mississippi, West Virginia, Louisiana and Massachusetts. Maryland, Texas and as many as 14 others are said to be readying their own suits.

"This may not be the beginning of the end, but it's the end of the beginning," said Louisiana Attorney General Richard Ieyoub at a Washington news conference.

Although Liggett Group had sounded the first retreat ever in the tobacco wars by announcing earlier in the week that it was settling claims against it in a massive class action lawsuit, the Castano class action in New Orleans, that agreement is subject to approval by the court. The agreement with the states takes effect immediately.

The 25-year agreement will create a fund based on 2.5 per cent of Liggett's annual pretax profits, which will be distributed among the five states that sued first. A second fund created from 5 percent of Liggett's pretax profits will be distributed among all other states that file suit and decide to come into the settlement.

Along with the monetary settlement, Liggett has pledged to withdraw its objections to many of the regulations that have been proposed by the Food and Drug Administration in order to reduce underage smoking. While not admitting wrongdoing, the company agreed to abide by various restrictions on advertising and marketing called for by the FDA. Mississippi Attorney General Mike Moore, who spearheaded state efforts, said the FDA portion of the agreement is more important than the money states will receive for Medicaid expenditures. He called it the "walkaway deal," because failure to secure the FDA agreement would have killed the settlement effort.

The rules, which would include dropping any use of cartoon characters in tobacco ads, don't really change the way Liggett now does business, but could bring about a marked change in the marketing plans of RJR Nabisco, which Liggett's controlling shareholder, Bennett LeBow, is trying to gain control of through a shareholder fight.

If RJR and Liggett merge, the agreement calls for the fund to jump to a $135 million up-front payment for the first five states and $30 million or 2.5 percent of the combined company's pretax profits annually, whichever is greater — as well as a $25 million fund to help other states mount their own litigation efforts.

Moore said that Wall Street skirmishes might ultimately lead shareholders of the other tobacco giants to demand similar settlements: "This may be a situation where corporate greed serves public need."

But the other major tobacco companies, which control some 98 percent of the market, have all pledged to continue fighting every legal challenge before them. Philip Morris executive Steven Parrish said that his company had been checking with its major investors and that they backed the current strategy.

Parrish said last week that his company has long opposed underage smoking and has initiated multi million-dollar programs to educate kids and to keep merchants from selling to them. "Where the heck were these guys last summer when we did real things?" Parrish asked.

Moore said that when the lawyers on his side heard that a tobacco company might actually want to negotiate with them, "We thought it was a joke at first, frankly."

The negotiations were precarious up to the final days, when Massachusetts was threatening to pull out over terms the state's negotiators said were too favorable to Liggett, according to sources familiar with the negotiations. The final agreement sets a minimum amount of money that Liggett must provide to the settlement fund, indexes the amount to allow for inflation, and explicitly allows the states to file their suits anew if the agreement later collapses.

The agreement was completed after an intense round of "hellacious" negotiations, said Richard Scruggs, an attorney representing Mississippi. "We've been up all night long, and every night for the last three weeks," he said.



Unpleasant aftertaste . . . Liggett, which manufactures Chesterfield cigarettes, has broken ranks and settled a court case

Separate Roads to Nowhere

OPINION
Richard Cohen

ON THE way to the airport, leaving Jerusalem and its horrors behind, I made small talk with the cabdriver. He once drove a cab in New York City, but decided to return to Israel where he was born. Why? I asked, and the answer, tossed off with no suggestion of irony, was a stunner: Fear of crime.

Crime! Two city buses have been blown up recently by suicide bombers in the very city where the cabdriver cruises the streets. Not more than an hour away, yet another suicide bomber struck in Tel Aviv. More than 60 people have been killed in the last month and everywhere, on the street and at all the bus stops, soldiers patrol, on the lookout for terrorists — which is to say Arab-appearing people. Anti terrorism, it turns out, is more applied bias than it is applied science.

On the other hand, Israel counted only 92 murders in 1994 — that in a country of 5.5 million. Washington, D.C., by comparison, had about 400 murders and its population is only about 570,000. From 1993 to 1994, Israel's crime rate went up, but not so that anyone much talks about crime as a real problem.

So the cabdriver had a point, although terrorism and crime cannot be equated. What can be equated is the way in which two different societies have tried to deal with their individual problems — pretty much the same way, it turns out. Israel practices what might be called rational racism. Arabs are stopped on the street. They are sometimes ha- [illegible] Palestinians and sometimes refuse to allow them to board buses. Many Israelis do not like what they see. On the other hand, they see no alternative.

Americans sometimes resort to a variation of such measures — although almost never so blatantly. They do, however, sometimes lock their shops and refuse to admit young black males or take other measures based in a belief that crime is related to race.

Beyond that, though, many white Americans have responded to the threat of crime by simply separating themselves from the larger society. They live in restricted, even walled, communities. They send their children to private schools. They forsake public parks for private clubs.

Israel is debating whether it, too, will follow the course of separation. The early Zionists at first took no heed of the indigenous Arab population. But later, the dream of many Israelis was of a state where Arab and Jew could live together peacefully. Now, few cling to the old dream. They wonder if separation is the only remedy to Israel's security problem.

The other night CBS News aired videotape of a bunch of Los Angeles teen-agers who cruised down the street creating mayhem. They swatted one person with a baseball bat and shot others with a paint gun.

The videotape, it turned out, was shot by the kids themselves. They killed no one — except, you might say, the wonderful liberal ideal that we can all live together. Not yet, many Americans are saying. Not anymore, many Israelis are saying. In two different languages, they are both saying the same sad thing.

Violence Plagues El Salvador

Douglas Farah in Usulutan

AN ACCUMULATION of murders, extortion attempts, kidnappings and dusk-to-dawn curfews is making life here even less tolerable than when this was an important battleground in the civil war that wracked El Salvador from 1980 to 1992.

So the city, 50 miles east of the capital and the Central American nation's fourth largest, went on strike last week, shutting down virtually every business, to call attention to the fact that the police and government were failing in one of their fundamental jobs: protecting citizens. In a sign of how deeply the sentiments resonate in the rest of the country, national radio stations broadcast events live, along with messages of solidarity from across the land. Newspapers gave the strike banner headlines.

Pedro Martinez, who helped organize the strike, said it had no political motives but was a desperate plea for help to "say no to crime, kidnappings and extortion."

The strike was embarrassing for the conservative government of President Armando Calderon Sol, who campaigned two years ago on a strong law-and-order platform.

In response, Calderon Sol, saying he was "deeply concerned" about the unprecedented rise in crime, has held emergency meetings with legislative, judicial and law enforcement officials on measures to deal with the crisis.

Just how bad things have gotten in El Salvador — a Massachusetts-sized nation of 7 million — since the civil war ended four years ago can be seen in the homicide statistics. During the 12-year conflict between the U.S.-backed government and Marxist-led guerrillas, about 70,000 people were killed. The average number of annual violent deaths dropped from a high of 13,000 in the early years of the conflict to about 5,000 toward the end. A United Nations-sponsored peace agreement was signed in 1992.

In 1994, the number of violent deaths climbed to 9,135, according to figures from the attorney general's office. Incomplete statistics for 1995 registered 8,485 deaths. The figures make El Salvador one of the most violent countries in the world, with a rate of about 114 homicides per 100,000 people, almost double violence-wracked Colombia's rate of 65 per 100,000 people. The rate given for the United States is 11 per 100,000 people, and for Sweden less than 4.

"The situation is truly alarming," said an official at the attorney general's office. "In 10 years, we will have 90,000 deaths, while in the whole war there were less than that."

But it is not just murder that is a concern. It is also the kidnapping and extortion, especially in this broad, flat basin, once known as El Salvador's breadbasket because it was the wealthy center of the nation's cattle, cotton and sugar production.

The rise in crime can be attributed first to the war, which created a culture of violence and left thousands of former combatants from both sides unemployed and untrained for peacetime jobs. The war also led to an easy availability of weapons, from rocket-propelled grenades to AK-47 assault rifles, on the black market here.

With the weapons and wartime experience, scores of organized criminal bands have sprung up, operating with impunity.

AS PART of the peace process, the security forces were disbanded because they were responsible for many of the war's human rights abuses. A National Civilian Police was created, made up largely of civilian recruits who received U.S. and European training. But the force is inexperienced, outnumbered and outgunned by criminal bands. Between March 1993 and November 1995, 90 agents were killed and 473 wounded in fighting crime.

The force was considered by many to be the major achievement of the peace agreements, a chance to build an independent police and end the tradition of above-the-law security operations that has plagued El Salvador for generations. But the new force rapidly has lost its public prestige.

A January report by the Washington Office on Latin America and Hemisphere Initiatives found that "despite improvements over the old security forces, the [National Civilian Police] has to resolve a number of critical weaknesses," including "excessive violence and increasing incidents of human rights abuse."

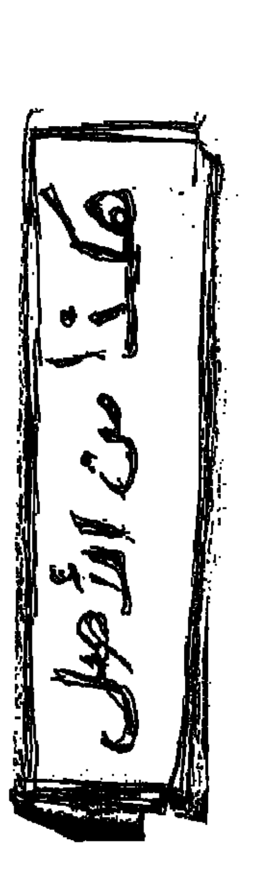
The inability to deal with organized crime has led thousands of people to leave the Usulutan region after suffering threats, extortion and kidnappings. For those who stayed, windows are shuttered and the streets deserted by dark.

"People are scared, and we have suffered year after year," said Gustavo Aguilar, a cattle rancher and farmer, who said he has watched his production wither by 50 percent because he cannot work his land. "First it was the war, then it was this type of aggression."

"Are things worse now than during the war? Without a doubt," said rancher Jacobo Handal. "We could live before, but now there is so much fear . . . There are a lot of high-level people involved, so people are afraid to denounce anything to the police or the judges."

Handal had a copy of a typed letter several ranchers had recently received, demanding $1,800 in cash.

"Our intention is not to harm you, but if you do not collaborate, unfortunately we will have to kidnap one of your family," the letter said. "It would be a mistake not to cooperate. . . . If you do not, or if you have your telephone lines tapped, within three days, we will blow up your house with three fragmentation grenades."



Flight to Valhalla

Millions of white, middle-class Americans are leaving the multi-coloured realities of cities and even the suburbs in search of rural bliss, writes **Joel Kotkin**

AFTER NEARLY a century of ever-intensifying metropolitan growth, American society has begun a march back toward its hinterlands. Reacting to the cacophony of urban life, millions of Americans seem to be succumbing to what may be called the Valhalla syndrome — a *fin de siècle* yearning for a heavenly retreat, with the promised reward of a simpler, less complex existence.

This mass migration could well shape the economic, political and cultural landscape of the coming decades. As middle-class, predominately white Americans detach themselves from the multi-colored realities of urban metropolitan regions — moving not just to the suburbs but far beyond — the gap between the cities and the world beyond could grow ever greater.

"There's a real growing anti-urbanism out there," observes Ken Johnson, a demographer at Loyola University in Chicago. "People want to be out of the cities and they are now going further and further past the fringes." Recent demographic data reveal the strength of this trend. After losing population for decades, rural areas are now adding people at three times their 1980s growth rate. Between 1990 and 1994, more than 1.1 million net migrants moved into rural areas and small towns, most of them from suburban or urban locations.

While 1 million people may not seem that significant in a country of over 200 million people, this shift comes on top of an even larger rush into smaller metropolitan regions, particularly in the Intermountain West between the Rockies and Sierras. In this decade, for example, Arizona's and Idaho's populations expanded at nearly three times the national rate — and Nevada grew at nearly five times the norm — to be sure, from relatively small bases.

And even in the larger regions, observes John Kasarda, director of the Kenan Institute of Private Enterprise at the University of North Carolina, virtually all population and job growth now takes place in those suburbs most distant from their urban cores. These include people who live in semi-rural locations within commuting distance from the "edge cities" at the periphery of larger metropolitan areas.

"It's not just the old move to the suburbs, it's the exurbs and beyond," Kasarda explains. "It is a move to remove as far as possible from the inner-city poor areas. It's both avoidance and flight." This "avoidance" also reflects consternation, predominately among whites (but also some blacks) about the changing demographics of such large metropolitan regions as Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York and Chicago, which have received the vast majority of new immigrants. People who grew up in these areas are often unhappy to find their old neighborhoods and industries dominated by newcomers from Latin America, Asia and the Middle East.

Most spectacular has been the mass migration from New York and other parts of the Northeast. From 1990 to 1994, the New York City area suffered a net domestic outmigration of more than 861,000. Taken together, the Northeast lost over 1.5 million people to other areas, largely to heavily white enclaves such as central Florida, the southern Appalachian hill country as well as the edge cities around the Research Triangle in North Carolina and Atlanta.

Corporations too have been infected with the Valhalla syndrome. Seeking lower costs, less regulation and cheaper housing for their employees, the fastest-growing areas for corporate relocations and expansions have been in places such as Lancaster, Pennsylvania, or Huntsville, Alabama, or in smaller cities such as Orlando, Austin or Nashville and in the Salt Lake valley.

Like the new migrants, many relocating executives openly express the desire to be in a region with a highly homogenous, relatively well-educated work force. "One thing people don't want to worry about is race relations," notes Brad Bertoch, president of the Wayne Brown Institute, an organization dedicated to developing Utah's high-tech industries. "Companies think if they go to a neighborhood where everyone is like me, it makes it easier. It takes away from stress. People want to remove some of the variables of their lives."

In many ways, the current Valhallan movement reflects deep-seated historical tendencies within the American character. From Thomas Jefferson to William Jennings Bryan, anti-urbanism has been a mainstay of American political thought. It was only during the New Deal, led and conceptualized largely by urbanites, that cities such as New York began to move from exceptions to trend-setters.

Yet the era of intense urbanization began to peter out by the late 1950s as millions of largely middle-class Americans left old urban neighborhoods for the suburban rings around them. Although some large cities, such as Los Angeles and Boston, boomed during the 1980s, the overall trend for urban areas has been largely negative, with the nation's central cities" share of US poverty growing from 27 percent in 1960 to roughly 43 percent today.

In part, observes author George Gilder, the growth of rural areas is being powered by new communications technologies — the Internet, video conferencing, expanded computer processing power — which have all but obviated the need for cities. Urban areas, he suggests, are little more than "leftover baggage from the industrial era." The new America will be born in the former hinterlands, far from the masses of immigrants, inner city blacks, gays and other encumbrances. "Cities," Gilder notes, "are dirty, dangerous and pestilential."

Although technology may be making the Valhallan trend possible, the shift should not be seen primarily as an economic phenomenon. It is first, and foremost, a cultural movement back to an earlier, perhaps largely imagined past of small towns, safe streets, clean air and common cultural values. As Larry EchoHawk, a Democrat who lost his 1994 bid for the governor's job in Idaho, puts it: "Idaho is what America once was, and what the rest of the nation now wants to be."

Unlike the traditional Sun Belt ascendancy of the 1960s and 1970s, the Valhallans are more ambivalent about turning their regions into powerful, new competitive centers. With their eyes on restoring this supposed idyllic past, the bulk of the newcomers to the Valhallas do not tend to be the young and aggressive pioneering types who, in earlier decades, migrated to regions such as Los Angeles, Houston or San Jose.

The new migrants, notes William Frey, a demographer at the University of Michigan, tend to be older, less affluent and less well educated, and often close to retirement age. Roughly one fourth of people moving into Colorado, for example, are over 55; the migration has been so much older than predicted that the anticipated pressure on many school districts there has not materialized.

SINCE THEY are largely seeking to escape urban America, many Valhallan émigrés disdain anything that might bring along the much-feared ills of city life, notes Phil Burgess, president of the Denver-based Center for the New West. Indeed, according to one recent poll, 73 percent of Coloradans felt their state's population and economy was growing too fast.

This rural population shift is also having an impact on the political arena. Traditionally, political scientists have thought the migration of Easterners to the South or Californians to the Intermountain West would bring a more centrist or even left-wing political flavor to those conservative strongholds. With their urban sensibilities, the thinking went, they would help "tame" the traditional conservatism of these regions.

Although this has occurred in some areas, the Valhallan aspirations of the newcomers has more often strengthened the right's dominance. Indeed the entire Northwestern region, as well as Arizona, has become something of a bastion for all sorts of far-right, antisemitic and anti-black organizations. For one thing, the monolithic nature of places such as Kootenai County, Idaho appeals to those who wish to escape diversity; in 1990, the county had only 139 African Americans out of a total population of 80,000. Idaho has also become the base camp for survivalist developments organized by ex-Green Beret Bo Gritz, who is building his own subdivisions for like-minded ex-urbanites.

Similarly, in recent years Colorado Springs has become a hotbed for right-wing Christian organizations and the national epicenter for anti-gay movements. The city of 300,000 has more than 50 national Christian groups; nearly half have arrived in the last decade, including the Rev. James Dobson's Focus on the Family, which moved there in 1991 from increasingly diverse suburban Los Angeles.

The Valhallan movement has also boosted more conventional, right-wing enclaves. For example, according to Raleigh-based political analyst Seth Effron, migrants to North Carolina — mostly from the Northeast and Midwest — have been critical to boosting politicians such as Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC).

Much the same process can be seen in the Intermountain West, where a once thriving two-party system has given way to almost total domination by conservative Republicans. States like Idaho used to occasionally elect liberal Democrats. But liberals from the state have far worse prospects today. Newcomers to Spokane, Washington played a critical role in defeating House Speaker Tom Foley in his re-election bid last year, though liberal Democrat Ron Wyden did manage later to squeak into Bob Packwood's old seat.

In Utah, today's flood of immigrants have tipped the scales distinctly toward the right, notes the Wayne Brown Institute's Bertoch.

Utah's politics, like that in North Carolina, Idaho and other Valhallan states, reflect more a conservative monoculture than at any time in recent history. "You think you're getting liberals going out here but for every one liberal you're getting 20 conservatives," Bertoch says.

In the next century, the impact of the Valhallan syndrome may be even more profound. For one thing, current migration patterns virtually guarantee a growing racial and cultural chasm between the cosmopolitan cities and the Valhallan hinterland on a scale not seen since the divisions that led to the Civil War.

By 2020, according to projections by the University of Michigan's Frey, the country will be divided into distinctly ethno-cultural regions. In 12 states — mostly in the Plains, upper New England and the Intermountain West — more than 80 percent of youngsters under 17 will be white, while in another 12, including California, Texas and most Northeastern states, young whites will be in a distinct minority.

MUCH OF THIS is a direct result of the immigration and trade patterns that have emerged since the 1970s. Asians will be a powerful presence in states such as Hawaii, where they will be the largest group, and California, where they will constitute one in five youngsters, but barely register above 5 percent in most other states. Similarly, Latinos will be the largest grouping in California, Texas and New Mexico but well under 10 percent of the population through much of the rest of the country.

It is unlikely that the great metropolitan regions will lose their place completely: They will still be the incubators of America's commercial, technological and artistic cutting edge. For one thing, virtually all the top 10 graduate departments in the sciences and engineering are located either on the West Coast or in the upper Midwest or Northeast. Millions may have moved to the Valhallas, but the intellectual capital of the nation remains very much fixed on the coasts.

Similarly, most of the nation's key exporting industries are also located in urban regions. In terms of global competition, Hollywood, Wall Street and Silicon Valley will not easily be displaced.

Like the struggle between the rural south and urbanized north of the last century, this conflict between Valhallan and cosmopolitan visions will likely shape the America of the next century. Ultimately it may determine whether this society meets the challenge of becoming a harbinger of a new world culture, or whether it will seek to freeze itself, like other declining civilizations, in the comforting outlines of its imagined past.

Joel Kotkin is a senior fellow with the Pepperdine Institute for Public Policy and the Pacific Research Institute.



ILLUSTRATION. JAMES YANG

In Brief

WESTERN companies are investing record amounts in developing countries but not in the world's poorest nations, which are facing growing debt problems because they are losing official aid, the World Bank says. The report identified the most vulnerable economies as being mainly in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America.

DUTCH aerospace company Fokker has collapsed with the initial loss of 5,600 jobs at the company's Amsterdam plant, with more job losses expected at Shorts Brothers, Belfast, which built wings for the Amsterdam-based group.

VICKERS is to review its policy on the timing of executive share sales after an outcry from shareholders when three directors appeared to have cashed in on volatile market conditions to net large option profits.

BANK of England governor Eddie George defied European attempts to force Britain's hand on monetary union, warning that a dash for a single currency could shatter relations between European nations.

GEC ended months of intense speculation by confirming that George Simpson, chief executive of Lucas Industries, would succeed Lord Weinstock as the company's managing director.

BRITISH Petroleum says it expects to boost annual profits by at least $1.5 billion to $4.5 billion by 2000.

ANGLO AMERICAN, South Africa's largest company, has taken nearly a 6 per cent stake in trading giant Lonrho.

JAPAN'S trade surplus fell last month, suggesting that its economy may be growing at last. The total surplus fell by almost 46 per cent to $6 billion in February. Imports rose for the 16th month in a row, up 17 per cent, while exports had their first monthly fall for three years.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling rates March 18	Sterling rates March 11
Australia	1.9749-1.9788	1.9854-1.9894
Austria	15.85-15.88	15.84-15.86
Belgium	46.34-46.44	46.30-46.40
Canada	2.0782-2.0812	2.0833-2.0863
Denmark	8.71-8.73	8.70-8.72
France	7.71-7.73	7.71-7.73
Germany	2.2559-2.2590	2.2524-2.2555
Hong Kong	11.82-11.83	11.78-11.79
Ireland	0.9674-0.9700	0.9707-0.9733
Italy	2,385-2,389	2,383-2,387
Japan	161.97-162.25	159.99-160.26
Netherlands	2.5243-2.5276	2.5219-2.5252
New Zealand	2.2442-2.2478	2.2429-2.2455
Norway	9.82-9.84	9.79-9.80
Portugal	233.34-233.96	233.48-234.08
Spain	189.79-190.09	189.59-189.84
Sweden	10.25-10.27	10.41-10.44
Switzerland	1.8202-1.8230	1.8264-1.8292
USA	1.5286-1.5296	1.5238-1.5248
ECU	1.2206-1.2219	1.2203-1;2215

FTSE 100 Share index down 4.9 at 3669.6, FTSE 250 index up 50.6 at 4244.6, Gold down $2.00 at $394.25.

Barings bosses set to face charges

Dan Atkinson and Sarah Whitebloom

CITY regulators announced the first disciplinary action against former Barings executives one year after the merchant bank collapsed as a result of rogue trader Nick Leeson's losses of more than $1.2 billion.

Payments totalling tens of millions of pounds to "top up" Leeson's Singapore operations and hidden from both the Bank of England and regulators will form a key plank in the case brought against former Barings executives by the Securities and Futures Authority.

Meanwhile, the Securities and Investments Board, the chief City regulator, announced that 50 exchanges around the world had agreed to set up a new international framework aimed at fencing in any future Nick Leeson-style rogue traders.

The SIB disclosed a worldwide deal to build "warning levels" into futures trading.

It is thought Peter Norris, former chief executive of Baring Investment Bank, is a key defendant in the SFA action. He bears "ultimate responsibility" for the inaccurate reports that concealed the payments, according to last July's report by the Board of Banking Supervision into Barings collapse.

Mr Norris was accused also both of failing to act upon an internal 1994 report urging that Leeson's wings be clipped and of failing to tell regulators of the report's existence. This latter offence is likely also to be high up on the SFA's charge sheet against him, as will be the "inappropriate" request he made, according to the report, to accountants in Singapore to omit from an audit document any reference to a rogue transaction of £50 million.

And the SFA proceedings may well refer to the board's finding that Mr Norris did nothing to establish the basis upon which Leeson was making his claims of enormous profits in Singapore.

Two other heavyweight defendants are believed to be former head of the financial products group, Ron Baker, and the ex-group finance director of Baring Investment Bank, Geoffrey Broadhurst.

The SFA last week released no names or details of the charges being laid. It did name the former chairman Peter Baring and deputy chairman Andrew Tuckey as having given assurances they had no intention of seeking direct executive management positions within the securities industry.

Mr Baring is leaving the City altogether and Mr Tuckey is to restrict his activities to corporate finance advice. But they remain, along with Mr Norris, targets for aggrieved holders of £109 million of Barings bonds, who have lost all their money.

The SFA is thought to be coming down particularly hard on those in any way guilty of misleading the SFA or breaching its principles of business conduct. And the July report identifies Messrs Norris, Baker and Broadhurst as being among those who, time and again, failed to take action against Leeson.



Mutual prosperity based on trust

Investing in social capital can help counter crime, writes **Will Hutton**

THE FIRST shock is the event, awesome in its evil, horror and irrationality. The second shock is that British society has become so deformed we can produce the individuals who commit such crimes. Dunblane, we sense, will be followed by more.

The reflexive instinct is to legislate for anything that might help. Tighter gun and knife control; more security guards outside schools; more intervention by the police. All may help at the margins — yet even their most ardent advocates know that the next Thomas Hamilton could evade such controls if he were determined enough.

Real protection demands a profound change in the character of British society and culture. Individuals — especially the growing number of marginalised men living alone — need to be integrated better into the networks of mutuality and reciprocity on which a well-functioning society rests.

Here, unexpectedly, some new thinking in economics offers insights. A new wave of theorists, concerned that market mechanisms alone cannot signal the economic rewards resulting from collaboration and co-operation, is exploring the role of social capital in advancing economic development — and how it is fostered.

A group whose members trust each other can achieve more economically than a non-trusting group; the classic example is how farmers can economise on farm tools if they can trust in the capacity to borrow from other farmers. Equally, they can have leaner labour forces if, for example, one can be trusted to bale hay for another when idle, in the expectation that the favour will be returned. These trust relations can be formalised into co-operatives and even local agricultural banking — so that, the stronger the social networks, the more prosperous the farming economy.

Economic historians are picking up on the theme, emphasising trust as an important animator of industrialisation. Trust is the cement that creates industrial clusters, innovative supply chains and long-term supportive finance; but trust cannot be created without a strong civic society and clusters of social networks.

Professor Robert Puttnam, a political economist at Princeton, and Professor Douglass North, a Nobel prizewinning economist at Washington University in St Louis — have been prominent in arguing that social capital along with an economy's institutional structure are fundamental to its performance.

But economists working in a similar vein range from Harvard's Professor Michael Porter, who famously advocates that social clusters and networks of firms create self-generating growth circles, to Reading University's Professor Mark Casson. The latter argues that even entrepreneurship is based on trust, because the production of high-quality, innovative goods demands an integrity of relationship between the workforce, suppliers and financiers. Integrity of production requires the integrity of trust relationships.

Social capital has, however, been on the decline in the US, and Prof Puttnam is concerned about its impact on the economic and social development of American capitalism.

The vast US legal industry is founded on the breakdown of trust as individuals turn to lawyers to police contracts; the financial services industry is overblown because individuals need financial instruments that protect against risk as trust relations diminish; the explosive growth of crime and the prison population is intimately related to the orgy of corporate downsizing, causing falling real wages and marginalising unskilled men.

THE NEW, untrusting American corporations generate productivity not through creativity and organic growth but by destroying what seems to be costly social layering.

This may have short-run benefits, but in the long run it imperils the good society which sustains any successful economy. Nor is the US alone. In Britain there is the same erosion of trust relations which leads to industrial and financial short-termism, and is corroding trust relations in the wider society — reflected in these moments of horrific social breakdown. Hamilton, left alone to his own macabre devices in his Stirling house, became a moral outcast unable to empathise with the plight of his victims or their families. The decline of social capital infects economy and society alike.

Yet from whence social capital? Prof Puttnam's study of Italy, Making Democracy Work (Princeton University Press), shows how when the Italians regionalised their political system in 1970 it was those regions with the great civic traditions and rich in social capital, with dense networks of clubs, associations and civic action groups (including trade unions), notably Emilia-Romagna and Umbria, that exploited the opportunities best. In the poor south, the typical unit is the individualistic, inward-looking nuclear family which stays aloof and apart from civic life — and those regions were less successful.

Some of this civic tradition and social capital has roots that go back to the Middle Ages — with the depressing implication that if a society has not got the historical underpinning for social capital it is preordained to be a loser. History matters. On the other hand, Prof Puttnam notes that after 20 years there are the first signs that even in the Italian south a civic participative tradition is beginning, with knock-on effects on the economy and society. New institutions can make a difference; but it takes time.

In Britain, however, social capital and trust have been under assault from two directions. In the first place, the insistence that only individual bargains in markets can organise economy and society efficiently has helped generate a winner-take-all culture.

Individuals are exhorted to capture as much gain as possible and structures have been created — from the NHS to the labour market — in which that exhortation is matched by a new pattern of legal and economic incentives. Mutuality of obligation is secondary to self-interest; strong public services are secondary to tax cuts.

The other impact on social capital has been the marked decline, which Prof Puttnam observes in the US, of civic and social life, and the weakness of Britain's political and social institutions in offering any counterbalance. The Americans are joining and participating less, he reports, a trend that is matched in Britain.

But, rather than blame the so-called dependency culture, he focuses on new forms of recreation, which require less social interaction, as one of the causes.

These arguments point to a more subtle response to Dunblane than looking for top-down legislative mechanisms of social control and coercion to solve the problem — while in the economy further promoting atomistic market relations. The task is rather to rebuild trust and social capital.

Lisbon plans to take active part in Europe

Portugal's new president tells **Luc Rosenzweig** about the role he sees his country playing

JORGE SAMPAIO, who took office as president of Portugal on March 9, has the difficult task of following in the footsteps of fellow Socialist Mario Soares, who occupied the post for 10 years.

Sampaio was just starting his career as a lawyer when he was asked by Soares to help him defend opponents of the Salazar dictatorship. At that time he formed links with the communists, who later helped him get elected mayor of Lisbon and now president of Portugal. His first official decision has been to bring into the Council of State the "historic" leader of the Portuguese Communist party, Alvaro Cunhal.

For the first time since the restoration of democracy in Portugal in 1974, both the prime minister and the president of the republic come from the same party. How will you divide up your respective roles?

My election rather dented the widespread notion that the Portuguese don't like putting all their eggs in one basket. They simply voted for someone who was a Socialist and who wanted to be president.

For reasons of principle, I've remained a card-carrying member of the party. But the separation of powers in Portugal means that the president doesn't enjoy executive responsibilities. He is an arbiter, a moderator, someone who can exert influence on big issues. But above all he brings people together.

As Antonio Gutteres's government doesn't have an overall parliamentary majority, I will often be called upon to play the role of arbiter and moderator.

You put yourself across as someone who will guarantee the social cohesion of a country which hopes to conform to the Maastricht criteria for a single currency as quickly as possible. Will you go on being the "good pupil" of Europe?

I think we need to continue strengthening the national consensus on our membership of the European Union. Portugal has a vital stake in the European scheme of things, not necessarily as a good pupil, but as a participant and an actor. It has a role to play in the construction of Europe.

But it is vitally necessary to maintain economic and social cohesion as a fundamental principle of the EU. If we allow selfish attitudes to thrive, we will run into difficulty.

In what areas does Portugal intend to make an original contribution to the intergovernmental conference in Turin on March 29?

The principle of the equality of member states is a fundamental one; so is economic and social cohesion. That means we are in favour of enlarging membership of the EU. But the cost of enlargement has to be worked out, at a time when the problem of the EU budget has not been solved.

It's vital for us to construct a European area of solidarity and freedom in the fullest economic and social sense. We must ensure that an exclusively monetarist approach does not prevail over an approach that takes the social dimension into account. In short, I'm closer to the French on this issue than the British, who would like to see the EU turned into nothing more than a free-trade area.

Does that mean Europe should go further in its plans for a joint foreign and defence policy?

For the past 20 years I have been in favour of setting up a strong European element within Nato's defence policy. But in my view that doesn't mean we should dispense with the American presence in Europe.

We must be capable of providing a European presence in areas like Bosnia, and not play into the hands of American isolationists. Europe has to assume its responsibilities by constructing its defence identity within the framework of Nato or the Western European Union.

Will that have repercussions on the future of the Portuguese army?

Compulsory military service is written into the Portuguese constitution. But I think that the parties represented in parliament are moving towards the idea of setting up an all-professional army.

At the moment, military service lasts four months, which the army regards as worthless. Changes are on the cards. They will probably be brought in when the whole constitution is reviewed. At the moment the Portuguese soldiers in Bosnia are professionals. We must continue along those lines.

Through its presence in Bosnia, Portugal has become an adult country. It hasn't been all that easy, given that public opinion, which still has keen memories of our colonial wars, was reluctant for Portugal to get involved in that way.

What will your policy be as regards Portugal's former colonies in Africa, and in particular Angola and Mozambique, which are in the throes of apparently interminable civil wars?

The coming year could be very important, because in July we're launching the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries, which will include five African countries and Brazil.

We shall also continue to take part in the work of the commissions that are trying to restore peace in Angola and Mozambique — it is something we regard as vital for us both culturally and strategically.

I'm optimistic. In Mozambique, the transition to democracy is under way despite enormous economic problems, and, as far as Angola is concerned, I thought the recent meeting between [President] Dos Santos and [rebel Unita leader] Savimbi was a positive step.

At the recent Europe-Asia summit, Portuguese representatives had talks with the Indonesian delegation on the issue of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. What was the upshot?

The prime minister put an important proposal on the table: he said that diplomatic relations with Jakarta would be restored at *chargé d'affaires* level on condition that human rights were respected and political prisoners freed.

The ball is now in the Indonesians' court. Our proposal marked an important step towards the solution of the problem. It is an issue on which our European partners have not always shown as much understanding as we should have liked, but one which Portuguese public opinion feels very strongly about.

(March 10/11)

Sampaio . . . 'The British would like to see the EU turned into nothing more than a free-trade area' PHOTOGRAPH: GUILHERME VENANCIO

Row over plans for Auschwitz

Jan Krauze in Warsaw

IF THE Warsaw authorities get their way, plans to build two supermarkets near the entrance to the Auschwitz death camp, where more than 1 million people, most of them Jews and Gypsies, died at the hands of the Nazis, will not go ahead.

On March 12, three leading Polish political figures expressed disapproval of the plans, which have been revealed by the press and earlier triggered fierce protests from Jerusalem, Paris and New York.

The culture minister, Zdzisław Podkanski, asked the prefect of the region where Auschwitz is located to halt work on the project. The prime minister, Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, asked the local authorities to review what he described as a "morally dubious" scheme.

And the president, Alexander Kwasniewski, after a telephone conversation with the president of Israel's parliament, the Knesset, declared that the location of the supermarkets was "inappropriate" and displayed "a lack of respect" for the camp's victims.

However, the curator of the Auschwitz museum says that there was wide consultation before the scheme was launched. The opinion of the museum's International Council, on which various Jewish organisations are represented, was sought. And the project complies with the development plan for the protection zone established by Unesco around the museum.

The curator says that the scheme provides for the opening of two retail outlets of 1,500 and 3,000 square metres respectively within existing premises (which are due for renovation) at a distance of 300 metres from the entrance to the camp.

The swift response by the Polish authorities confirms that they are keen to maintain good relations with Israel and improve their country's image in the eyes of leading Jewish organisations.

The previous Polish foreign minister, Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, appointed Krzysztof Slivinski as an ambassador with specific responsibility for maintaining contact with the Jewish diaspora. The new prime minister has kept on Slivinski in the job.

Earlier plans to establish a Carmelite convent in one of the camp buildings caused several Jewish organisations to express strong disapproval.

But the extremely aggressive tactics employed against the nuns by Jewish activists, such as Rabbi Avi Weiss, had the effect of alienating the local population.

The supermarket controversy shows once again how difficult it is to reconcile respect for a site with such appalling connotations as Auschwitz and the day-to-day problems that local authorities face in handling tens of thousands of visitors every year.

Whether or not the supermarkets are built, ice-cream-licking and soda-quaffing tourists from the US have long been a familiar sight within the confines of Auschwitz.

(March 14)

Emmanuelli pays heavier price on appeal

COMMENT

HENRI EMMANUELLI, former president of the French national assembly, former minister, former first secretary of the Socialist Party (PS), and currently a member of parliament and president of the general council of the Landes *département*, is the most senior political figure so far to have been punished for the illegal financing of party election campaigns.

At his trial last May Emmanuelli was given a one-year suspended prison sentence and fined 30,000 francs ($6,000). He decided to lodge an appeal. On March 13, the Rennes Court of Appeal not only increased his suspended sentence to 18 months and maintained the fine, but deprived him of his civic rights for two years. According to a clause in the electoral code, this could mean that Emmanuelli will be barred from standing for election for twice that period — four years.

Emmanuelli can still take his case to the final Court of Appeal. But now is perhaps the right time to look at the implications of his tangle with the law. In 1992, he was charged by investigating magistrate Renaud Van Ruymbeke with the illegal financing of the PS through the consultancy firm Urba-Gracco.

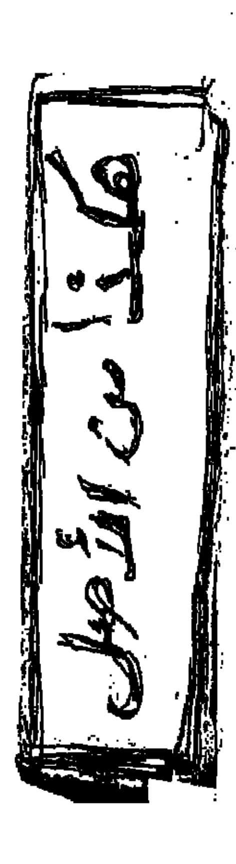
At no point was Emmanuelli accused of having personally benefited. It was in his capacity as treasurer of the party from 1989 on that he was charged with misusing company funds: commissions were paid by companies to dummy consultancies with a view to obtaining contracts with PS-controlled town councils.

Emmanuelli's line of defence was to emphasise his personal integrity and to politicise the debate by encouraging fellow Socialist leaders and activists to express their solidarity with him. He also persistently challenged the good faith of investigating magistrates in their dealings with him and made an implicit appeal for a form of moral amnesty.

The people involved in cases that began to be investigated when the left was still in power, towards the end of the eighties — Alain Carignon and Michel Noir, mayors of Grenoble and Lyon respectively, and now Emmanuelli and his co-defendants in the Urba-Gracco case — have already come up for trial.

But investigations that were set in motion during the power-sharing period from 1993-95, and involving rightwing political figures, seem to be in danger of grinding to a halt. Investigating magistrates are finding it hard to marshal the resources they need to pursue their inquiries, particularly police co-operation. They must see the Rennes court ruling as an encouragement not to allow themselves to be bullied.

(March 15)



A voice that refuses to be silenced

Yashar Kemal, Turkey's most famous writer, talks to **Nicole Pope**

THOUGH he was given a suspended 20-month sentence by Turkey's state security court for having written an article condemning the government's crackdown on the Kurdish minority, Yashar Kemal is unrepentant. He was accused by the courts of "separatist propaganda" and "of causing hatred and animosity, given the differences between races".

Kemal is unclassifiable as a writer. He is a perfect example of how various cultures thrive together on Anatolian soil. "I'm not a nationalist," he explains, "but a man of both Kurdish and Turkish cultures. There was no awareness of Kurdish or Turkish nationalism when I was a child, but the Kurdish identity has always existed."

Kemal was born to the only Kurdish family in a Turkish village near Adana. He draws his inspiration from the popular traditions of the Turkmen tribes in former Cilicia (now Cukurova), where he was born, and from the Kurdish roots of his family, who were forced to leave the area around Lake Van in eastern Anatolia when it was occupied by the Russians in 1915.

The dramatic tone of his novels and his larger-than-life characters, who struggle against adversaries magnified by the use of epic language, are ingredients drawn from popular Turkmen legends and the great poets of ancient times who inspired him as a young man.

Kemal describes himself as "an epic storyteller". He can still remember the traditional bards who travelled through the countryside and declaimed their stories to villagers. His family even had its own bard, a *dengbei*, who added Kurdish legends to the corpus of Turkmen minstrels' tales.



In the dock . . . Kemal (left) in court in Istanbul, where he received a suspended 20-month sentence earlier this month

He was fascinated by the minstrels and followed them from village to village. He was not yet 10 when he tried his hand at reciting legends and composing poetry.

Later, he compiled a collection of these traditional Turkish elegies. "I collected well over 500 of them. Part of the collection was published. I gave some to the Institute of Turkish History. The others were confiscated and burnt by the police after my arrest."

Kemal has had brushes with the law since he was a teenager. "Up until 1946 there wasn't a single farmer or a single villager who hadn't been beaten up by the police. The police didn't do it because they were criminals, just out of habit."

An argument about agrarian reform resulted in his being jailed and beaten up when he was still at school. From then on, he was branded as "Kemal the communist" by the local population and police.

The first news stories he wrote in the fifties for the daily Cumhuriyet took him to south-east Anatolia, which has been devastated today by the conflict between government forces and the rebels of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

"At the time I was writing about the poverty and fundamentalism that existed in that region," he says. "Readers were surprised. They knew nothing about the situation. I received threats: one day I was sent a bullet through the post."

Kemal's opinions did not prevent him from becoming Turkey's most popular writer. His novel Memet My Hawk sold a record-breaking 600,000 copies. His books have notched up total sales of 5 million in Turkey. They have also been widely translated.

The article that led to his recent prosecution did not mark a change of stance on Kemal's part. He has always said what he thought quite openly. He has the full support of his wife, Thilda, who is fluent in many European languages and acts both as his "manager" and as a window to the outside world.

Why did the authorities and the media react so virulently to his article? "I think it was because the public had become particularly sensitive to the issue, and their reaction was further exacerbated by the fact that the piece had been published abroad."

The injustice of the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish authorities angers Kemal. "I don't think that the Kurds, if they were to secure their cultural rights, would actually want to become independent," he says. But, he adds, "there are 3.5 million people who have been deported and more than 4,000 murdered, and large areas of woods and wheat crops have been burnt. But that is nothing compared to the food embargo. If a villager buys a sack of flour, the police help themselves to half."

Kemal thinks Kurdish nationalism has grown rapidly because of government policy. "Feudalism is normally incompatible with nationalism. But although the Kurds have not yet shaken off their feudal system, they have been so hard hit they have become nationalists."

Before Turkey's general election on December 24, Kemal had a chance to express these views to Mesut Yilmaz, now prime minister, who had come to consult him. "I said to him: 'You politicians' — and I wasn't attacking him personally — 'don't have enough guts. We're not going to get democracy with people like you. You can buy five Kurds, [illegible] Kurds, but you can't buy 20 million Kurds. On the other hand, if you manage to solve this problem Turkey will become a democracy.'"

Kemal hopes the European Union will keep up pressure on Ankara. "Of course I don't want it to declare war on Turkey. There are a thousand ways of helping the country to become democratic — through talks, mediation, political pressure."

He sees glimmers of hope in this largely gloomy picture. "The new left is beginning to come out in favour of peace. Intellectuals are demanding peace. Even people in the business world are expressing their views publicly."

In the sixties, Kemal was a member of the Labour party, which was outlawed in 1972 for advocating "separatism", and he remains a convinced socialist. He has a profoundly humanist outlook.

"The world is a garden with 1,000 cultures and 1,000 colours. Some of them draw inspiration from others. There has always been cultural interaction — that's something Lévi-Strauss helped me understand."

At the end of the seventies, when a climate of violence in Turkey resulted in leftwingers and those of the far right killing each other, Kemal decided to take refuge in Sweden, where he stayed for more than three years.

He regards his present problems with the law as trifling: "They have known me for the past 40 years and realise they can't intimidate me." At the end of his last trial, he was even congratulated on his defence speech by the state prosecutor. "'Mr Kemal,' he said to me, 'you gave us an audience worthy of your prestige'," he remembers with a chuckle.

Kemal is determined to continue to speak out: "As a general rule I'm the most timorous of people, and I hate heroes — a man who is not afraid is not human. But the characteristic of man is that he is able to overcome his fear."

(March 9)

Picassos in pictures

Michel Guerrin

THE Musée Picasso in Paris has just bought 390 original photographs by Brassaï (1899-1984) from his widow, Gilberte, for a sum which is believed to be in excess of Fr1m ($200,000). The acquisition of such a large number of pictures taken by one of the greatest photographers of all time is remarkable given that the French state is not usually keen on buying original photographs.

The pictures, taken and printed by Brassaï between 1932 and 1971, are of Picasso, his friends, his sculptures and his studio. They include many photographs of the celebrated sculptures Picasso produced in the Boisjeloup studio in the early thirties.

"Brassaï understood Picasso's sculptures better than anyone, while at the same time producing a work of art — which is rare," says Gérard Régnier, head curator of the Musée Picasso. Brassaï also photographed many of the ephemeral sculptures Picasso made out of paper cutouts and bread.

(February 25/26)

The irresistible rise of Martin Wuttke

Brigitte Salino in Berlin

THE new head of the Berliner Ensemble, the prestigious theatre company founded by Bertolt Brecht in 1949 and until recently run by Heiner Müller, is 34-year-old Martin Wuttke. His spell as artistic director began on February 17 with Einar Schleef's audacious production of Brecht's Herr Puntila And His Man Matti.

Wuttke's appointment took many by surprise. While Müller was still fighting against cancer — a battle he lost on December 30, 1995 — speculation began about his possible successor.

Would it be a celebrated stage director like Claus Peymann, head of Vienna's Burgtheater, or a playwright like Rolf Hochhuth, who was reportedly very keen to get the job? In the end, Wuttke — who gave a highly acclaimed performance as Arturo Ui in Müller's last stage production — was the winner.

Wuttke has an exceptionally powerful stage presence. Offstage, his apparent fragility is belied by the sharpness of his eyes: here is a man who knows where he is going. He grew up in the Ruhr town of Bochum. His family had moved up in the world: his father, originally a locksmith, ended up an engineer.

"I came to work in the theatre by chance," Wuttke remembers. "I was mainly interested in music — I had a rock group — and in art. A woman friend urged me to take the entrance exam to the Düsseldorf school of dramatic art. I got in. I was 18 and it was a three-year course. I told myself I could always study art afterwards. But when I started acting, I was ensnared by the theatre like a fly on flypaper."

By the age of 23 he was playing Hamlet, at 24 Thésée in a production by Schleef, his mentor, and at 26 Gilgamesh in The Forest, a play written by Müller and staged by Bob Wilson.

That was when he first met Müller. Wuttke, based in Frankfurt, was then working in productions by various West German theatres. In 1991-92 he was a member of Hamburg's Thalia Theatre company.

He moved to Berlin in 1993, playing Horatio in Hamlet-Machine, a play written and directed by Müller. The ties between the playwright and the actor became closer. The following year Wuttke joined the Berliner Ensemble and immediately became its most charismatic actor, thanks mainly to his performance in Quartett, Müller's reworking of Les Liaisons Dangereuses, in which he played a 32-year-old Valmont opposite the prodigious Marianne Hoppe as an 84-year-old Merteuil.

"I talked a great deal about the theatre with Müller. When he was in hospital, he asked me if I could stand in for him during his illness. I told him I felt I had to stay in my place as an actor.

"The question came up again after his death. The artistic director of the Berliner Ensemble is appointed by the members of the company. When I was offered the job, I wondered what I would do if I turned it down. To do that would mean interrupting a long process of working in and thinking about the theatre."

When Wuttke was appointed, people described him as "Heiner Müller's spiritual son". He dismisses the phrase with a wave of the hand: "It's flattering but meaningless — too pretentious."

WUTTKE sees himself in different terms, which he formulates as a question: "What is it that makes me, who grew up in the West, think that it is here, in former East Germany, that I must stay and work?" Only time will provide an answer. But Wuttke is in no doubt about what has so deeply involved him in the celebrated and turbulent history of the Berliner Ensemble: an indestructible belief in literature, and an insistence on a form of collective work that is capable of renewing dramatic art.

"Why is the German theatre so boring?" a Die Zeit journalist asked him recently. "When I was an actor in Hamburg," Wuttke replied, "I felt as if I was performing under a *cloche*."

He feels that in the past few years the theatre has tried to "speed things up" in a bid to compete with cinema. "But the theatre is a slow art," he says. "If it tries to run after the others, it's heading for disaster."

Wuttke has asked the Berlin Senate to guarantee that the $15.5 million subsidy the Ensemble receives will not come up for review until 2002.

One crucial question remains, that of the legacy left by those two *maîtres sacrés* of the Berliner Ensemble: Brecht and Müller. "Can one have a love life with ghosts?" Wuttke wondered in the Die Zeit interview. In other words, how can one prevent the Berliner Ensemble from becoming Müller's museum, just as it was Brecht's in the seventies?

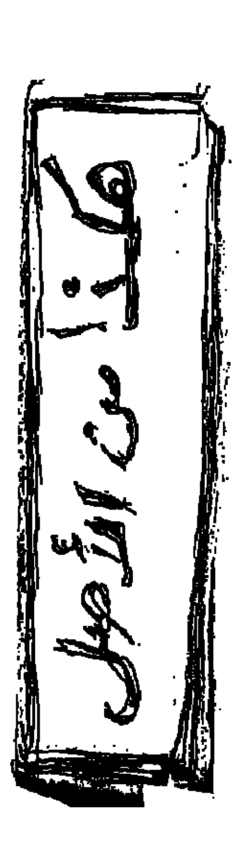
"What weighed the Berliner Ensemble down was the way people didn't adapt the spirit of Brecht," he says, "but simply copied *ad infinitum* the models he had bequeathed. They only saw the result of his work and not the questions he was asking.

"As for Müller, the idea of turning him into a museum is unthinkable. His plays are designed to collide with every form of reality." Wuttke should know: he acted in them.

(March 6)

Le Monde

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani



Lessons to be learnt

Linda Grant asks why white, working-class boys fare so badly in English schools

CHRIS WOODHEAD, Chief Inspector of Schools, announced last week that girls are now more successful than boys in every subject except physics, and almost all ethnic minorities are achieving better examination results than white boys from poor inner city schools. The evidence for this is not new. For several years, girls' GCSE results have been outstripping boys' — not just in traditional female arts-based subjects but also design and technology, computer studies, mathematics and chemistry. Eighteen months ago Peter Downes, vice president of the Secondary Schools Association, said that in Cambridgeshire (where he teaches) the least able girls are still doing better than the least able boys.

The fact that white working-class boys are failing now does not, however, automatically imply a transformation in young male attitudes to education. In the years between the end of the war and the mid seventies, it was possible for a male teenager to leave school on a Friday and begin work in an apprenticeship on a Monday. Academic learning was irrelevant in the job market he was entering, which is why the 1944 Education Act created the secondary modern school to prepare the working class for their jobs as tradesmen and labourers. Ever since universal secondary education became mandatory, there was a built-in bias against a culture of learning for the working class.

When parents argue now for the return of selection, they usually forget that when it existed the majority of children did not go to grammar schools, and the child who should have passed the 11-plus but didn't would need all his or her wits to find a way to acquire any qualifications at all, let alone enter higher education. What should have happened is that the comprehensive system, like American high schools, would encourage the late developer — and boys have always been held to "mature" later than girls.

Hanging around . . . pupils in Bradford PHOTOGRAPH: ASADOUR GUZELIAN

In practice, it is girls who have taken advantage of greater educational equality. It feels as if the general opening up of opportunities for women has filtered down into childhood. Mothers encourage their girls to aim higher than they did. Young women are seizing the opportunities now that communication skills and team work are more prized than competitiveness and physical strength. Only the police and the military are left as occupations in which sexism, homophobia and racism have precluded women and minorities from making inroads — and even these are under pressure to make themselves more representative of modern life.

UNLESS there is hard evidence that male culture has changed, we should assume that boys are not doing worse than they did but rather that girls are doing better. A survey of more than 7,000 pupils, by Keele University's Centre for Successful Schools in 1993/4, showed that when asked to assess their own ability, more boys than girls thought they were able or very able and fewer boys than girls thought they were below average. Boys seem to be drifting along in a world which has no bearing on reality. As 15-year-old Gavin Morgan, of Tony Upper School, Bradford, says: "I've not been entered for any exams because I don't want to do any because I think they're crap." Gavin says his family agrees with him, but the problem for the sons of those post-war early school leavers is that Britain's economy has changed.

The jobs their fathers got do not exist any more, yet their strategy for dealing with the world of work has not altered. It may be that they are over-confident that something will turn up. It is the children of ethnic minorities who know the world for what it really is; with so much stacked against you qualifications are one of your few weapons to achieve the good life.

But there is another scenario. We have every reason to be extremely worried about failing boys. A generation of unemployable white men, seeing the jobs they thought were theirs being taken by women and the children of immigrants, are recruiting potential for white supremacists and neo-fascists. It was all very well when you could point out to the pub bore, ranting on about the foreigners taking our jobs, that those posts in the hospitals and on the buses were the lowest paid that he would not dream of applying for himself.

But when women and ethnic minorities are becoming the new technological proletariat in a computer-based economy, the wasted white youth of Britain is really going to imagine it has a beef.

Letter from Châtaigneraie Peter Graham

It's a dog's life

BRITAIN may be a dog-loving nation, but France has a larger dog population (9 million). Whether that means the French dote on their dogs as much as the British is a moot point. In this part of the Auvergne, as in most rural areas, dogs are treated like working animals rather than pets, and the degree of affection they get from their owners is proportional to their competence as farm and/or gun dogs.

A hard-faced farmer in my village ("Not everyone round here likes me, you know") had a Brittany spaniel called Fred. The man's expression would soften unrecognisably and his eyes crinkle with pleasure as he described the dog's pointing skills. When Fred vanished one day he suspected that one of his fellow hunters, with whom he was not on good terms, had poisoned or shot the dog. For months afterwards the man pined for his "marvellous" Fred.

Woe betide the inefficient dog. Another local man became so enraged at his dog's inability to point to game that he took it into the woods and beat it to death. Or so he thought. The badly injured dog managed to crawl back home to his master — begging forgiveness, one imagines, with drooping ears and weakly wagging tail. The man made sure he made no mistake second time round.

A couple of years ago, I realised that the dog which had been hanging around the village square in front of my house for a couple of days was a stray. It would curl up to sleep in the church porch and sniff the tyres of cars that brought people to mass. I took the dog in, called it Toutou (the French for "Doggie") and asked around to see if anyone was interested in having it — it was a pointer and therefore, in theory, a good gun dog. [illegible]

I travel too much to keep a dog myself, so I eventually realised I would have to take Toutou to the local dog pound of the Society for the Protection of Animals (SPA). The woman there said she thought she had seen Toutou before. After checking its ear tattoo with her records she remembered that an elderly Parisian had left the dog with her after being involved in a car crash, and that she had found it a home with a café owner in a small town 15km from my village. The man, a keen hunter, admitted he had abandoned the pointer in woods near me after discovering it could not point. He was given a serious wigging by the SPA and forced to take the dog back. I was later told that he, too, made no mistake second time round.

Toutou was certainly an undisciplined townee: during its stay with me it managed one day to shoot out of the front door and bite the dustman. "*Ce n'est rien*," he said — the dog had only nipped his uniform. But next day he came back and told me sheepishly that his wife had noticed a slight graze on one of his buttocks. As I had not discovered at that point where Toutou had come from, I had to comply with anti-rabies legislation, which requires a vet to examine any suspect stray dog for symptoms of rabies three times within the space of a fortnight. The dog was cleared and the dustman saved.

Callousness towards dogs, however, is the exception round here. On the whole they lead happy, unconstrained lives (only rarely are they tied up), even if they get few cuddles from anyone except teenage girls.

THEY ARE quick to recognise another kind of soft touch: me. They bang and scratch at my front door, secure in the knowledge that I will give them some leftovers, cheese rind or even *saucisson sec*. One particularly clever dog called Elliott lives down the road. He — such is his intelligence I feel compelled to anthropomorphise — recognises my car when I am still 50m away, races ahead and can be found panting at my front door, already grateful for what he is about to receive. Part fox terrier, he can leap several feet in the air to grab a morsel of food from an extended hand. [illegible], I left a cake on the front seat of my car, with the windows wound down, while I popped into the house for a minute or two. When I came out the cake had disappeared. An empty paper bag bearing the name of the baker lay on the ground next to the car. Could it have been Elliott? My suspicions were confirmed when I realised that the central-locking buttons on the car windows, which I had left unlocked (up), had been pressed down. Elliott had clearly caught a delicious whiff of the invisible cake and risked a leap into the unknown. The next time I drove past his house he must have felt a twinge of guilt, for he affected not to recognise my car.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

***WHAT* would be the practical consequences for us if light travelled at 30mph?**

I WOULD be able to switch off the light and be in bed before the room went dark. — *Jeff Williams, Hengoed, Shropshire*

I WOULDN'T have been caught speeding last week. — *Ian Walkington, Solihull, W. Midlands*

***TO WHAT* depth below the surface is land "owned"?**

ENGLISH law has long worked to the presumption that the owner of land also owns everything up to the sky and down to the centre of the earth. There are exceptions. For example, gold and silver in natural deposits belong to the Crown, and aircraft enjoy a statutory right to fly over land at reasonable heights.

It was suggested in Bernstein v Skyways (1977) that the rights above land might be limited to such height as is necessary for the ordinary use and enjoyment of the land and the structures on it, and possibly the same principle would apply to the soil beneath. — *Daniel J. Radlett, Gillingham, Kent*

***I SEEK* retirement in a country which has a warm/dry climate; 50-75 per cent of the UK cost of living; a functional welfare state; democratic government; no mosquitoes. Where shall I go?**

CLOUD-CUCKOO land. — *A J Birch, Frodsham, Cheshire*

***WHAT* is the difference between Gross National Product and Gross Domestic Product?**

GROSS DOMESTIC Product (GDP) is the value of the output of all goods and services produced within a nation's borders. It includes the production of foreign-owned firms within the country, but excludes the income from domestically owned firms located abroad. Gross National Product (GNP) is the total value of all goods and services produced by firms owned by the country concerned. It is measured as GDP plus income from abroad, minus income earned by foreign investors within the country. — *Rosemary Bock, Lahnau, Germany*

Any answers?

***HOW* much vacant burial space remains in Poets' Corner at Westminster Abbey? —** *Aaron M Fine, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, USA*

***WHICH* historical character most influenced history by a decision based on the influence of a woman? —** *(Dr) Brendan Judge, Torquay, Devon*

***ARE* there any confirmed observations of primates (other than humans) burying their dead? —** *Peter Turnbull, Leeds*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ

A Country Diary

Virginia Spiers

TAMAR VALLEY, DEVON: Days are lengthening fast and the light is increasingly bright across drab pastures. Lent lilies with brilliant yellow, fat buds, streaked with green and growing on short stems, have appeared. These were once grown commercially and the dainty, vivid flowers must have cheered thousands when their brief flowering season coincided with Mothering Sunday.

Mossy apple trees are covered with berried ivy, as is the collapsed greenhouse surmounted by a solitary weak shoot of the delicious black dessert grape which was once so fruitful. Where bracken and brambles are shaded out by regenerating hazel, blackthorn, willow and oak Heart's-tongue, ferns with winter-dulled leaves grow in leaf-mould scattered with empty nut shells and patches of primrose. This market garden, productive until the 1950s, was staked out with small leisure plots just over 30 years ago. Some were sold through adverts in the national press and those lucky enough to obtain the few reachable sites arrived with their tent or caravan for a few idyllic holidays. As the novelty wore off and the land became overgrown and more inaccessible, fewer returned. Only one flat patch, beside the track, is now visited regularly, the grass cut and bushes pared back. Across the stream, steep ground has reverted to woodland, the beneficiary of isolation and neglect by far-flung owners.

Wiser counsel

From oil companies to banks, employers are extending the years of learning, writes **Nick Holdsworth**

GRADUATE recruits to management roles in commerce and industry can expect to be encouraged to develop their skills throughout their careers, as employers increasingly recognise the competitive edge which lifelong learning can offer.

To attract the brightest and the best, employers can no longer rely simply on offering good salaries and perks. The most ambitious and able graduates expect more, and expect to build on their academic and professional experience through postgraduate training, using it as a tool for career development.

Peter Johnston, resourcing manager for the Mobil Oil Company, which recruits 40 graduates to management trainee positions annually, says the firm takes a positive attitude to those wishing to extend their experience through MBAs. Each year about 10 managers are given the financial support to take the challenging management courses, usually on a part-time basis, in cases where Mobil recognises a commercial or professional advantage in backing them.

"If you are in a competitive market at the quality end of graduate recruitment, unless you proffer these possibilities you are not going to get your girl or guy," Johnston says. Mobil, like other leading graduate recruiters, runs its own in-house management training programmes for new recruits. Young managers are encouraged to take their professional or chartered institute qualifications and develop competency in key areas. The trend is towards modular training packages with core elements.

Mobil's five-year graduate training programme, which complements on-the-job learning, enables employees to cover essentials such as communication, computer appreciation, presentation and management strategies. It also allows latitude in improving skills in specific areas chosen by the trainees themselves.

"We don't offer programmed training — they get competency training. External providers, such as the Cranfield University School of Management or the Ashridge Management College, are also used for short courses in business awareness, or accountancy experience for non-accountants," Johnston adds.

Trainees building teamworking skills in the cold, wet and rugged landscape of the Brecon Beacons or some other wild, Outward Bound environment, remains an element of many development schemes. But sophisticated and tailored courses are increasingly used, as corporate responses to competition continue to change the nature of management roles, and responsibilities grow as management structures become flatter.



Seat of learning . . . the Cranfield University School of Management offers short courses in business awareness or accountancy experience for non-accountants PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID SILLITOE

Midland Bank's initial 10-week foundation training programme for executive trainees, run at the company's own residential training centre near St Albans, Hertfordshire, is followed by regular training updates which address issues such as risk assessment or product development. The training also tackles more general skills such as communication, negotiation, presentation and management methodology.

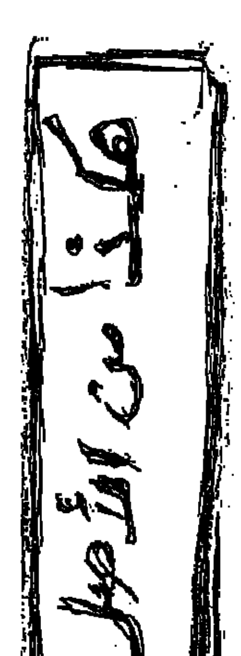
The bank also recognises the value of giving its managers access to higher level courses and is a member of two training consortia — one involving 25 European companies based at Insead, the European Institute of Business Administration at the Fontainebleau business school, near Paris; and the second, a five-member UK middle management consortium based at Cranfield.

Mike Killingley, Midland's senior manager for executive education, says that most graduate management recruits follow careers in the bank's commercial divisions, but its merchant and City divisions offer scope for varied career development. "One of the factors which attracts a number of graduates to apply is the level of training and development programmes the bank offers," Killingley says.

Rachel Morris, a personnel officer with computer systems firm ICL, is keen to take advantage of the positive encouragement her company offers enthusiasts for learning.

She joined the company in 1994 and, in addition to the company's own in-house management training (the Challenger programme), the 23-year-old Aston University International Business Studies and French graduate is nearing the end of a postgraduate diploma in human resource management. ICL, which sponsored her through her first degree, is paying for the course and allows her the half-day a week to attend Manchester Metropolitan University.

"I identified this as something I would like to do and it's also in line with business need, so the company is willing to support me in achieving it," she says. She would like to take a masters degree in the same subject at a later date.

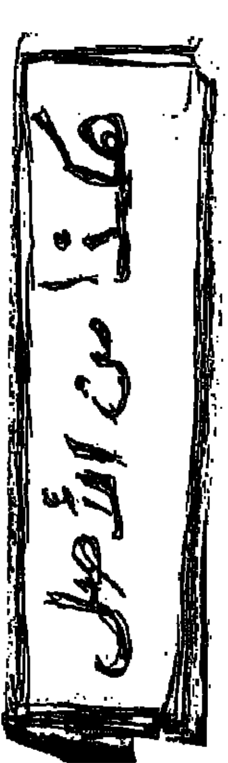


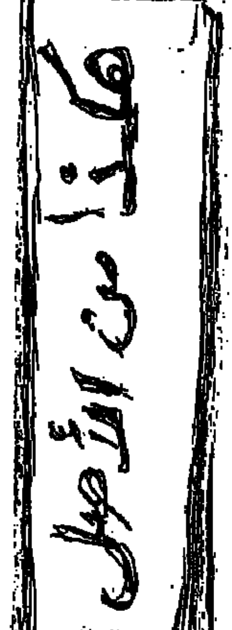
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Commencing salary per annum for the above posts will be established within the range NZ$42,500 - NZ$51,500.

Further information, Conditions of Appointment and Method of Application should be obtained from Appointments Department, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF (tel. 0171 387 8572 ext. 206; fax 0171 813 3055; email appts@acu.ac.uk); or from the Academic Appointments Office, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand (tel. [64 9] 373 7599 Extn 5097; fax [64 9] 373 7023). Three copies of applications should be forwarded to reach the Registrar by the closing date.

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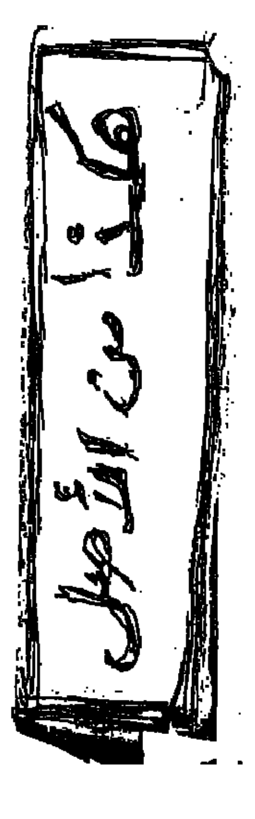
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Eastern Africa Regional Office



COLLABORATIVE MANAGEMENT ADVISOR
Chief Technical Advisor

IUCN, The World Conservation Union, is a union of states, government agencies and non-governmental organisation working towards the conservation and wise use of the world's natural environment. Since 1989, IUCN has been working with our members and partners in Uganda to build local capacity for sustainable development, natural resource management and biological diversity conservation.

The Eastern Africa Regional Office seeks to recruit a collaborative Management Advisor to work with Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project in Uganda, a project supporting Uganda National Parks (UNP) and the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR), which aims to:

- conserve the biodiversity of Mt. Elgon National Park in eastern Uganda
- promote sustainable development initiatives in communities adjacent to the National Park to alleviate pressure of park resources

The Mt. Elgon project commenced in 1989 with funding from the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and received technical assistance from IUCN. To-date, socio-economic and biological information on Mt. Elgon National Park has been collected, analyzed and documented. Innovative collaborative management systems involving local communities and Uganda National Parks are currently being piloted in selected zones of the park. Phase III will commence in August 1996 (subject to approval) and last four years. The Mt. Elgon National Park constitutes an afro-montane forest ecosystems. During Phase III, emphasis, will be placed on strengthening capacity for sustainable community-based resources use and management.

IUCN is seeking to recruit a Collaborative Management Advisor (CMA), who will also assume the role of IUCN Chief Technical Advisor, to undertake the following tasks:

- provide technical support and advice to the Project Manager, Uganda National Parks and Ministry of Natural Resources staff, and District Administration staff on collaborative management approaches.
- formulate and guide innovative approaches and methodologies, based on existing project efforts and information, for collaborative management between Uganda National Parks, Ministry of Natural Resources, and District Administrations, and local communities in the use and management of natural resources in and around Mt. Elgon National Park.
- transfer skills and development capacity, by playing a catalytic and facilitating role, within project staff in community participation and protected area management and general natural resource management.

The collaborative Management Advisor, who will be based in Mbale town, will be contracted for a period of three years. Remuneration will be commensurate with experience.

The successful candidate will hold a postgraduate degree in a relevant field, and at least seven years professional experience in community participation in the use and management of natural resources in and around protected areas, preferably in Africa. He/she will have a working experience as a Chief Technical Advisor, experience in and/or understanding of community participation in resource use and management, forest conservation,. environment assessment and planning, and human resource development. Management experience, good interpersonal skills, and an ability to organise and motivate others will be essential attributes.

The appointment will be pending on approval of the project document, expected to take place in May 1996.

*Application and curriculum vitae should be sent to: **Regional Representative, IUCN Eastern Africa Regional Office, P. O. Box 68200, Nairobi, Kenya, Fax: ++254-02-890615 by 15 April 1996.***

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Human touch of a Polish master

OBITUARY
Krzysztof Kieślowski

THE untimely death of the outstanding Polish director Krzysztof Kieślowski, aged 54, has dealt a huge blow to European cinema. Although he had only come into worldwide prominence in the last few years with the brilliant 10-part Dekalog, The Double Life Of Veronique and the trilogy, Three Colours Red, White and Blue, Kieślowski had been working in cinema for almost 30 years, first as a highly original and imaginative documentarist and then as a feature film director.

His late discovery by the world at large as one of the few European directors capable of measuring up to the giants of the past was both a huge chance and a considerable burden for him. He took his sudden fame and good fortune with the same stoicism as the difficulties of working under Poland's communist regime.

Those who knew his work from the beginning could easily detect an outstanding talent. His ironic but very human tone, the mastery of style and the ability to put something on the screen that had an emotional and dramatic force of exceptional power was obvious.

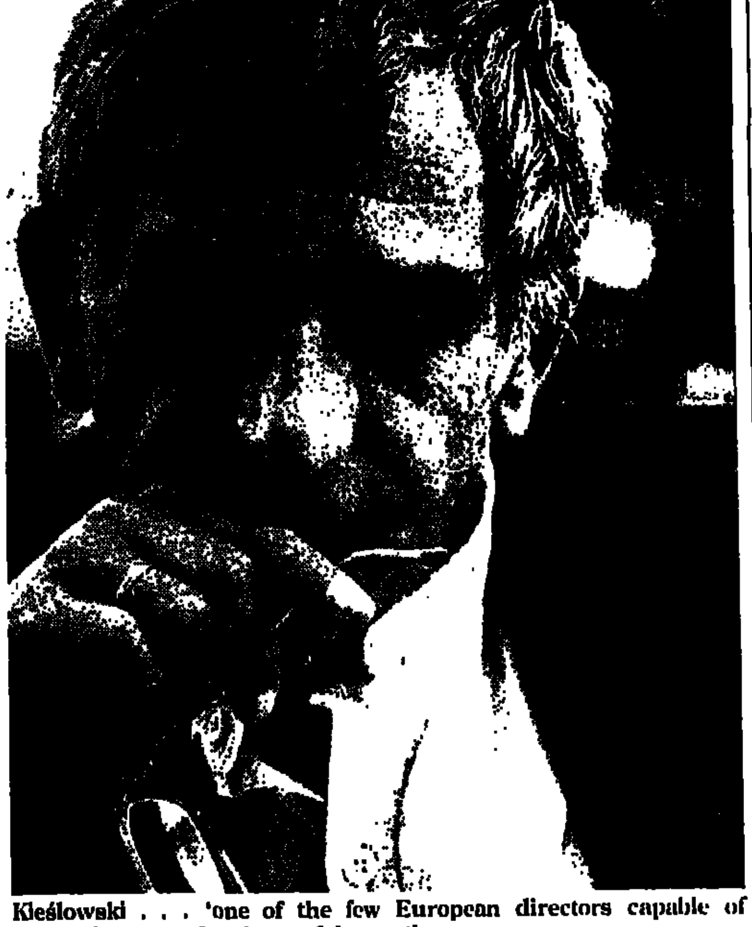
But despite becoming noticed by travelling critics and festival directors for Personnel, The Scar and, in particular, Camera Buff, a satirical critique of political censorship in Poland, no one was prepared for the brilliance of his Dekalog, loosely based on the Ten Commandments, which hit the festival circuit some 10 years later.

These 10 films, of less than an hour each, were filmed in the same suburb of Warsaw and with many of the same characters in each story. Most of them said more in that time than many film-makers can suggest in a dozen full-length features.

Two of them — A Short Film About Killing and A Short Film About Love — were extended into superb features and won festival awards which encouraged the French to take him up. All his other four films were produced in France and each won further awards, though a blow to Kieślowski's esteem came when Three Colours: Red, his magnificent last film, was given nothing at Cannes in 1994 while Quentin Tarantino's Pulp Fiction won the coveted Palme d'Or.

This ludicrous decision persuaded him, quite apart from the fact that he was exhausted after working flat out on projects for six years, that he should rest. He called it "retirement" but most people knew it wasn't permanent. He was due shortly to make another trilogy on the themes of heaven, purgatory and hell — again for the French producer Marin Karmitz.

In his later years, Kieślowski relied on a formidable team of collaborators, which is why his films had a unity of style and content second to few others. But he was first and foremost a director who knew exactly what he wanted and how to obtain it quickly and without fuss. Perhaps, under French influence, his style became more aggressively noticeable and did not always achieve the naturalness of his best Polish work. But even when this happened, the filming was still impeccable. If anyone could be considered a contemporary European master it was Kieślowski, and the Dekalog, in particular, remains one of the great saving graces of European cinema over the past disappointing decade.


Kieślowski . . . 'one of the few European directors capable of measuring up to the giants of the past'

Everything Kieślowski means to the more literate film-makers of the world is encompassed within the 10 films originally designed only for Polish television and all completed in the space of around 18 months. Yet he was not without his critics, sometimes being labelled obscure and too content to rely on a kind of fake mysticism for effect.

I well remember being on a jury that was hopelessly divided as to the merits of the longer version of A Short Film About Killing. One juror said it was little more than a melodramatic plea for murderers to be treated kindly. She then produced a video of the film and asked us to look at the very first scene. This, she said, would prove her point. We all did, but the experience had the reverse effect to that intended. Kieślowski won the main prize.

This criticism of him was underlined by the fact that he invariably refused to explain his films, though talkative on the actual process of making them. He surprised the British, for instance, by saying, when talking of retirement, that he would be willing to come back to work in any capacity whatsoever if Ken Loach was the film-maker who summoned him. He admired Loach's work greatly, saying that very few directors had the capacity to make people laugh and cry within the space of a single sequence.

This is actually what he himself could do since he was an odd mixture of pessimist and optimist in his nature as well as in his work. He was typically Polish but became, like Wajda and Polanski, an international figure who transcended his nationality.

He hated the ponderously short-sighted Polish communist regime and delighted in circumventing its strictures. But he also despised the post-communist, market-oriented Poland — a fact made obvious by his coruscating satire of a corrupt money-making society in the undervalued Three Colours: White.

The best thing that can be said about an artist of the stature of Kieslowski was that his espousal of a highly individual, very personal cinema gave a great many film-makers renewed hope and sprang directly from the work of other European masters now lost to us.

Derek Malcolm

Krzysztof Kieślowski, film director, born June 27, 1941; died March 13, 1996

Dark forces at work in the White House

NEW RELEASES
Derek Malcolm

Nixon aide: "History will remember you kindly."
Nixon: "Depends who writes the history books."

IT DEPENDS, too, on who made the movie. Oliver Stone is a conspiracy freak, not quite the chap one would rely on for an unbiased account, but one who worries his theories to death until they come out right for him, and sometimes for us.

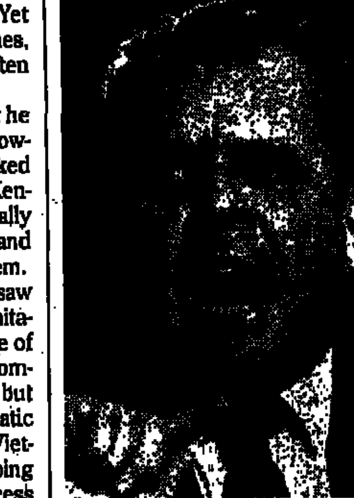
In a way, he's the Abel Gance of his day, a director capable of swingeing dramatic power and technical imagination, but whose sound and fury too often seem hollow. Yet he does make us look at our times, and he's almost certainly as often right as wrong.

His case against Nixon is that he was a politician who, despite knowing he was never going to be liked in the glamorous manner of Kennedy, strove for the heights, finally reached them and then lied and cheated in order to hold on to them.

His case for Nixon is that he saw more clearly than most the limitations of the presidency in the face of a rampant military-industrial complex and the power of money, but that, even so, he opened diplomatic relations with China, ended the Vietnam war (after effectively raping Cambodia) and started the process of détente with the Soviet Union.

It is a portrait of the man that is surprisingly lacking in bile, and of a time that anybody bathing in the afterglow of the sixties might well have painted more ferociously. It is hardly even-handed. But, though composed equally of established fact and the purest fiction, Nixon the film manages a grandeur — the feeling that there's still a film-maker left in America not taking any easy options.

That this history is sometimes painted in garish terms is indisputable — the military-industrial complex is represented by an odd assortment of Texan grotesques, near-fascist Cubans and a J Edgar Hoover (Bob Hoskins) who finds it is good to talk, especially when guzzling fruit from his pretty houseboy's lips. It is also represented — even more debatably — by blatantly doctored newsreels and television shows.


Hopkins: his portrayal of Nixon is worthy of an Oscar

But, along with all this, the film succeeds in suggesting that the truth can often be stranger than any fiction and that those in charge of us behave more like we do than we generally credit.

What's more, it supplies the kind of performance from Anthony Hopkins at its centre that dignifies the whole in such a way that even the most questionable lines seem to achieve some measure of the man.

It is pretty clear, for instance, that Nixon never said, while looking at the portrait of Kennedy that hangs in the White House, "They look at you and see what they can be. They look at me and see what they are." *But it's a resonant line which Hopkins manages perfectly.* And in the final section of the film, as the darkness of disgrace closes around him, the actor and the man seem one. If this isn't an Oscar-winning performance, made up equally of reticence and bravura, I don't know what is.

He is aided by good performances all round. Paul Sorvino's Kissinger is a deadly summation of the man, queasily after his own glory while unctuously serving a master who surely knew it. Joan Allen, given fewer chances as Pat Nixon than one might have expected, possibly due to legal considerations, also makes her mark, and James Woods (Haldeman), Powers Boothe (Haig), Ed Harris (Hunt), Mary Steenburgen (Nixon's mother) and J T Walsh (Ehrlichman) are equally able to hold the screen.

That said, the whole film is surprisingly short on Nixon's early career and long on Watergate, suggesting how a man lost his soul just as he'd gained the whole world.

What he had, and it is shown very well in the film, was a burning desire to prove that he was worthy of leading the American nation, and able to deal with the forces of darkness within himself as well as within America. In the end he wasn't (though his political legacy was arguably better than Kennedy's). Stone's film, for all its faults, achieves an almost Shakespearean stature while drumming this home.

It is an extraordinary roller-coaster ride, capped by a great actor stretched to the limit by his part. Whatever Stone's limitations, very *few American films dare to be this* uncomfortable and this enthralling.

Considering the kind of dialogue he writes, it is extraordinary how inane most of the movies based on Elmore Leonard stories have proved. True, The Tall T, 3.10 To Yuma and Hombre were adapted from his earlier work. But so were The Big Bounce, Stick, Glitz, Cat Chaser and 52 Pick-Up, and a worse collection of failures it would be hard to find.

Get Shorty has changed all that. Screenwriter Scott Frank's version of Leonard's book so appreciates his way with words that it often simply repeats what's in the book. And Barry Sonnenfeld, freed from his Addams Family chores, allows a good cast the freedom to make them sound as good as they do on the page.

Apart from the dialogue, which goes along with Leonard's capacity to create characters near enough to the bone to draw a little blood as well as laughs, the chief glory of the movie is John Travolta as Chili Palmer, playing a variant of his Pulp Fiction character so deftly that the art of it is almost invisible.

Travolta, now a superstar again thanks to Quentin Tarantino, is as likeable as James Stewart, though his talent is not quite as wide-ranging. As Chili, detailed by a mob-run Las Vegas casino to collect the gambling debts of a B-movie producer (Gene Hackman) and then seducing himself into pitching an idea for a film that might clear the debt, he is almost perfectly cast — daunting as criminal enforcer but charming in his part-knowing, part-naive discovery of *the world of Hollywood excess.*

Part of the piece's fun lies securely in its deft mixture of comedy, thriller and movie lore, which at times makes it seem like Pulp Fiction crossed with Ed Wood. Even on the brink of a nasty death, Chili explains to a furious Lindo the difference between Rio Bravo and El Dorado.

But it hurts a bit to have to add that, though Sonnenfeld gives us a good time, his direction isn't a patch on Tarantino's, whatever stance you take on Pulp Fiction. It is basic, giving screenplay and actors plenty of chances but frequently failing to point up scenes in other ways.

Staging the unstageable

THEATRE
Michael Billington

IS ONE a friend of Foe? Watching Theatre de Complicité's version of J M Coetzee's novel of that name, premiered at the West Yorkshire Playhouse, Leeds (until March 30, then on tour), I found it difficult to get enthused. In their versions of stories by John Berger and Bruno Schulz, Complicité brilliantly married physical expressiveness with powerful fables: here they are wrestling with the problem of turning a multi-layered novel about story-telling into gripping theatre.

The ideas themselves are interesting. To whom do stories belong? Is silence as potent as language? Is there any such thing as historical truth? The adapter, Mark Wheatley, plays fair with Coetzee's basic intent. He shows a desert island cast-away, Susan Barton, encountering the shipwrecked Cruso and his mute black companion, Friday, and, once back in London, telling her story to the writer Daniel Foe (the original family name). Because Cruso has died on the voyage home and Friday's tongue has been cut out, Susan inescapably appropriates their stories just as Foe manipulates hers. As, in a way, does Coetzee himself.

The novel works both as a hall-of-mirrors Borgesian conundrum and a political metaphor for the author's native South Africa: in particular for the way the disempowered are, literally, rendered speechless. But inevitably it undergoes a sea-change when staged. The inverted commas, in which Susan's story is permanently told, are submerged. Characterisation is simplified so that Foe, by paying someone to impersonate Susan's lost daughter, becomes more nakedly exploitative. And gnomic utterances, such as "Writing is not doomed to be the shadow of speech", begin to sound like exam discussion-topics.

The production by Annie Castledine and Marcello Magni strains every nerve to give the story theatrical life. The desert-island section, with its master/slave relationship and bolts of thunder and lightning, is like a compressed Tempest. Foe's London is evoked through a towering desk and chair precariously perched on Peter Mumford's fissured, mud-caked stage. And the acting is never less than good. Kathryn Hunter's Susan has the desperate urgency of a woman with a story to tell who finds herself confronted by the insatiable demands of fiction. Patrice Naiambana hauntingly implies both Friday's silent strength and belated access of power when he dons the writer's furred guild-robes.

But Foe, lacking much interplay of character, is theatrical without being dramatic and cannot match the shock-effect of the novel, in which we are finally reminded that Coetzee is the controlling authorial voice. It's all done with great style but Complicité have simply chosen an unstageable book.





Ordered world of the artist. . . View Of Delft and, above right, The Milkmaid

Vermeer's impassioned eye

ART
Adrian Searle

JOHANNES VERMEER is regarded as a painter of silences and telling details, of quiet music, harmonious conversation and solitary moments — knowing maidservants waiting in respectable chambers, a girl fiddling with her jewellery, letters being written and letters being read.

So many letters: a woman in blue reading a letter, a lady writing, a woman who has just received a love letter, delivered by her maid, another struggling over a love letter while her maid waits patiently by, staring amusedly out of the window.

So many windows, whose views we cannot see. A woman stilled for a second (how many seconds, hours, centuries?) as she looks out at something we will never witness on the street below. A man, his back to the window, lost in thought — or perhaps with no thoughts at all — while a girl is offered a drink by his garrulous companion. She looks at us, while we look at her.

Decorous flirtations and innocent, closely observed moments, all cast in the cool, chastening light that filters into the well-swept rooms his whey-faced subjects inhabit. Vermeer, the painter of the ineffable moment. Just as the light slants across his paintings, so the same, mild light falls into the galleries of the Royal Cabinet of Paintings at the Mauritshuis, The Hague, where 22 paintings — about two thirds of the artist's extant production — have been gathered together for the largest exhibition of Vermeer's works ever to be held.

A weaver's son, Vermeer was born in Delft in 1632. His father purchased an inn and ran a business dealing in paintings, a business the artist inherited. Nothing is known of his training and details of his career, which was spent entirely in his home town. His links with fellow artists, from Carel Fabritius (a pupil of Rembrant) to Jan Steen or Pieter de Hooch, all active in Delft, go largely unrecorded. He converted to Catholicism and married in 1653, and the same year was registered to St Luke's Guild as a master painter. By the 1660s he had established his reputation — largely as a painter of genre scenes, conversation pieces, often depicting *jonkertjes* and *jofferijes* — dandies and damsels, frittering their lives in trivial pursuits. Vermeer became head of his guild, achieved modest success and died in 1675, leaving enormous debts, a widow and 10 children.

Vermeer's early work included both religious and mythological subjects — Diana having her feet washed by her companions, a soppy Saint Praxedis, an uncomfortable and strained Christ in the house of Mary and Martha. But these journeyman works give little hint of his later perspicacity. By around 1657, Vermeer seems to have found his eye, and his subject, in the everyday life around him.

Vermeer, the most intimate of painters, has been made invisible by the public gaze

Apart from his 1657 painting of a little street, and his disturbing 1661 painting of the View Of Delft, Vermeer's maturity is entirely occupied as a painter of interiors and of portraits of people in rooms. View Of Delft (owned by the Mauritshuis) stands apart as a scene concerned more with emptiness than the topography of the town the painting purports to depict. It is an emptiness larger than the sky, dwarfing the waiting figures on the foreshore. The drearily detailed, painted city stands on the farther shore, less vivid somehow than its blurred reflection in the water, less substantial than the dark cloud. Beyond lies the thin blue sky and beyond that, sunlight, reflecting on the spire of Nieuw Kerk.

One wants to describe Vermeer's work as a succession of moments in rooms, as one's own eye traverses and penetrates his paintings. His eye dwelt on things with such attention that every detail appears laden with significance: the skin of a lemon, unpeeling on a plate; the whiteness of a collar and the reflection on a jug. The fold of a tablecloth and the shadow cast by a nail on a drab wall. Light dribbling down a blue dress; the gleam of spit on a girl's parted lips, the cravat at her throat a meringue of dazzling white. A gaze which a woman returns, catching our own, in complicity or in surprise. A servant pouring milk into a brown bowl.

Yet far from being a sophisticated record of the lived moment, his paintings are highly artificial constructions. He was fascinated by the camera obscura, which he used as a painting aid (much as modern painters use slide projectors — leading Vermeer to be jokingly dubbed "the first photo-realist"), as well as mechanically plotting his perspectives with pins and string on the painting surfaces. If scholars have difficulty delving into Vermeer's life, modern conservation tools like the X-ray machine and the spectrometer allow them to dig beneath the varnish of his paintings to discover how he painted.

The essence of Vermeer's paintings, however, remain opaque to technological advance. Allegory seems to be everywhere, in the dispositions of his subjects, in the furnishings and accoutrements of his rooms, in the tiles on the floor, in the unseen reflections in a mirror, in the books on a table, the shadows and in the light. Even, perhaps, in the vanishing point that Vermeer composed his pictures around. But these allegories, dealt with in much detail by his scholars, resist unravelling.

Vermeer's Lacemaker may have been read by his contemporary audience as a tract on the virtues of domestic industriousness; while the lacemaker concentrates, bending over her needle and thread oblivious to the viewer, we bend down to her and do our own work, not at embroidery, but at her immobile image.

Vermeer's most overtly allegorical painting, the Metropolitan Museum's Allegory Of Virtue, is also, paradoxically, a strained and silly affair, in which a woman, her foot resting on a globe of the world, clasps her bosom while a crushed snake expires on the floor before her.

As an allegorist and a moralist Vermeer is less interesting than as an impassioned eye. The pervasive calm of his work appeals to the *modern mind, offering a studied* glimpse of the ordered, tranquil world of 17th century affluent life, a balm to the raging spirit of our age.

But beneath the surfaces of his paintings, passions flow. There are lost loves, frustrations, vanities, foibles and covert desires. Perhaps this accounts for the faintings and fights, the bickering, jostling and elbowing in the four rooms at the Mauritshuis in which his paintings are hung.

The crowds mill through the modest rooms and create bottle-necks at the View Of Delft and The Girl With The Pearl Earring (which has been described as the Dutch Mona Lisa, and as being "blended from the dust of crushed pearls"). Light may aerate the paintings, but an atrociously short-sighted hanging, given the numbers of visitors expected, prevents their being seen properly.

Vermeer, even more than Cézanne, is drawing the crowds, the rubber-neckers and the tourists, just as he did at the National Gallery in Washington, the exhibition's only other venue. The problems were clearly predicted: outside the Mauritshuis, perched over the lake, a giant marquee has been erected, a Stansted airport-style day-care centre for distressed Vermeer fans. Here they wait for their alloted take-off time, and come to recover, if not from Vermeer, then from one another. But from one another, there's definitely no escape, neither here and now, nor in the measured rooms of the artist's paintings.

The Vermeer exhibition is hugely tantalising and contains marvellous things, but they are visible mostly as distant glimpses, hidden under reflecting glass, obscured by a hundred heads and terrible lighting. Vermeer, the most intimate of painters, has been made invisible by the public gaze.

The Vermeer exhibition runs at the Mauritshuis, The Hague, until June 2

Truman as evergreen US patriot

Noam Chomsky

Man of the People: A Life of
Harry S Truman
by Alonzo L Hamby
Oxford 760pp £25



The man from Missouri . . . President Truman with his daughter Margaret in 1950

HARRY TRUMAN is a marvellous subject for a serious biography and after decades of "scholarly engagement" with the subject, Alonzo Hamby is well qualified to write one. As he says, Truman was a "man of the people", whose life "exemplifies" many aspects of "the American experience". In April 1945, "knowing little more about diplomatic arrangements and military progress than what one would read in a good newspaper, he suddenly found himself responsible for overseeing the end of the war and the establishment of a new global order". "You, more than any other man, have saved western civilisation," Churchill informed him. It was a "near-visionary achievement", in Hamby's judgment.

In 1945, the US had awesome wealth and power. The leadership used it to design an authentic New World Order, with sophisticated planning and enormous consequences. Truman also faced the first wave of a post-war assault by a business world determined to dismantle the New Deal social contract. The challenges were daunting and the achievements momentous.

In 1934, Truman's diary records, he anticipated "retirement on a virtual pension in some minor county office". A few weeks later, he was selected for the Senate by Missouri's Pendergast machine. He went to Washington after a campaign that was "a dreary affair", marred by corruption and chicanery. Until jailed in 1939, boss Tom Pendergast remained "the dominating presence in Truman's political life". Through this period, he lined up with the "gangsterism and corruption" of the Missouri political machine. Truman was never to break from the "machine ethic", says Hamby.

By 1944, Truman's image had shifted with political tides to "urban liberal", and he was a reasonable choice as Roosevelt's running mate, a compromise candidate who "drew little positive passion". As of early April 1945, his working relationship with FDR remained one of "distant superficiality". A week later, he was facing the "unthinkable challenge" of domestic and global management, occupying what Truman himself later described as "the most powerful and the greatest office in the history of the world".

Hamby offers the most thorough analysis yet of Truman's pre-presidential life (Book I) and a "concise account" of the presidency that relates it to the larger themes of the cold war and domestic politics (Book II). It is Book I — the "crackling good story" that Hamby hoped to tell — that is the more substantial contribution, not only as a picture of the man but of an era of American history. Book II is more questionable.

There is a rich documentary record from the early post-war era, and an impressive scholarly literature devoted to it. Not surprisingly, much remains obscure and controversial. There is every reason for caution in assessing the decisions of those who were "present at the creation", in Acheson's phrase, and the factors that entered into them. Hamby scarcely tries. Historians who interpret complex and ambiguous material in ways he does not like are dismissed as "scholarly ideologues" or as having "a relatively benign attitude toward Stalinism" — mere slander.

Truman's first major act was to use nuclear weapons. Hamby's generally admiring account skims the surface, ridiculing the "article of faith among scholars of the left" that the purpose was "to intimidate the Russians" and keep them out of Manchuria. That "article of faith" has indeed been proposed, and sometimes debated, though largely ignored or rejected by most of those he seems to have in mind.

Hamby also ridicules the "left-wing fantasy that the [Korean] war was actually provoked by South Korea", citing a 1972 study that addresses questions that he avoids, namely the terror and atrocities of the US-backed government in the south. He does not cite the rich scholarship on this unmentionable topic, which gains more significance when we recognise that restoration of traditional structures, including fascist collaborators and (sometimes violent) suppression of the anti-fascist resistance and labour, forms a larger pattern throughout the global system under Truman's influence and control, often with only a derivative connection to the cold war. These topics too, though well documented, are ignored here.

WE READ about Truman's "bold new program for the underdeveloped world", but nothing about the programmes designed to accommodate "the colonial economic interests" of our Western European allies (CIA 1948); or the plans to reopen Japan's "Empire toward the South" and hand Africa to Europe to "exploit" for its reconstruction (George Kennan, 1948-49), among many other programmes that set the US on a collision course with Third World nationalism.

In place of evidence and analysis, we find appeal to American idealism and innocence, and devotion to "morally desirable universalistic idealism" — "impractical" because of the bad guys all around who prevent us from acting in accord with our unique virtue. And the rest of the familiar refrain, presented as obvious truth, requiring no argument.

Hamby's account of the domestic scene pursues the same course. Thus union leaders whom Truman despised are "irresponsible labour chiefs" whose labour movement led the way in "jamming the gears of American capitalism". Perhaps, but more is required than insistence that Truman is right, period. Hamby notes popular anti-labour attitudes, but not the huge corporate propaganda offensive to vilify labour and roll back New Deal measures that was launched instantly, put on hold during the war, then resumed on a remarkable scale.

He writes that price controls were overturned after the war under the influence of "rural, small-town America"; and also under the influence of a corporate propaganda campaign that infuriated Truman, shifting popular attitudes within a few months from overwhelming support for controls to opposition — one of the most sweeping reversals of public opinion on record, polling agencies reported. But crucial aspects of these features of American society are missing. In fact, the corporate world, hardly without influence in US society, makes scant appearance.

No study can fail to be selective and to reflect personal attitudes and values. But Book II is more a brief for the defence than the historical inquiry that its subject merits. Whether the issue is Yalta, German reunification, Poland and inland waterways, Japan, subversion in Italy, or the rest of the "larger themes", Hamby offers a patriotic version based on confident assertion.

To mention just one case, Washington's stand was obviously right when it sought only "an independent, pro-Western Greek government". A Soviet call for "an independent, pro-Russian Polish government" would elicit only ridicule, quite properly, though Russian security concerns in eastern Europe were perhaps not more outlandish than those of the US and Britain in Greece (not to speak of Latin America, south-east Asia, and elsewhere).

Book II covers the most important part of the Truman story, but while perhaps defensible, Hamby's account is not subject to serious critical evaluation. He provides a picture of personalities and domestic political manoeuverings, but little beyond.

Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard

Projections 5, ed John Boorman and Walter Donohue (Faber, £9.99)

ONE OF the best issues of this film-makers' periodical. Largely dedicated to animation, with a splendid colour picture of Wallace and Gromit on the front, it might even sell. Apart from an interview with Nick Park, it also features chats with James Stewart and Todd Haynes (who made that film about Karen Carpenter with Barbie dolls, now sadly banned).

Chloe Plus Olivia, ed Lillian Faderman (Penguin, £12)

ANTHOLOGIES of lesbians are two a penny these days, you might feel, but this is very good. All the usual suspects are here (and yet, with commendable restraint, no Kathy Acker), but Faderman overcomes the subject's relative lack of material with some unusual extracts, like one from Henry Fielding's The Female Husband.

The Tribe of Tiger, by Elizabeth Marshall Thomas (Orion, £4.99)

THE CUTESY cover pic of cuddling kittens might make you think that this is a routinely emetic pussy tome: don't be put off. True, Thomas has plenty of whimsical anecdotes about her cats (with names like Wicca), but her style, and the information she imparts, about the whole cat family and not just "felis catis", make this a superior cat book indeed.

The Woman's Dictionary of Symbols and Sacred Objects, by Barbara G Walker (Pandora, £17.99)

FIVE HUNDRED pages celebrating mumbo-jumbo through the ages. Everything with ritual significance that you can think of is included here: symbols, real and mythical creatures, star-signs, plants, parts of the body. Nothing with so many pages in it is going to be entirely useless, but one has a feeling that this is aimed at the uncritical end of the market. Lots of illustrations from Walker's self-designed set of tarot cards — so ghastly that I can hardly bear to think of them.

Casting Off, by Libby Purves (Sceptre, £5.99)

A 37-YEAR-OLD woman, fed up with her marriage and her chintzy tea-shop, pinches her husband's boat and sails around the country, neatly splicing Purves's passion for sailing and her ability to describe the trials of middle-class existence. Successful and efficient enough on its own terms, I suppose, and will sell like hot cakes to bored women in marinas everywhere.

All the news that wasn't fit to print

Ian Thomson

The Dustbin of History
by Greil Marcus
Picador 274pp £15.99

IN THIS ragbag collection of his journalism from the last 20 years, Greil Marcus is looking for a fight with someone. The Dustbin Of History contains a memorably nasty essay on Susan Sontag: She's a cold, snotty critic and is certainly humourless; she writes in that state of total gravity known as "all seriousness". Sontag's goofy cross-cultural pairing of Robert Rauschenberg with the Supremes told us nothing about either Pop Art or Motown; it was a platitude masquerading as insight.

Marcus is himself pretty keen on equating high with popular culture. He's been known to reveal connections between the Sex Pistols and medieval heretics. Also, like Sontag, Marcus drops names. Or rather he considers so many things at the same time that he appears to drop them — in this rather iffy collection — as he riffs across Bob Dylan and Ingmar Bergman to the Oedipus complex by way of Leon Trotsky and Elvis Presley.

As always, Marcus is at his best on American music. His big-hearted tribute here to the country blues singer Robert Johnson is a gem. Killed at the age of 27 by a jealous girlfriend, Johnson recorded his songs in a San Antonio hotel room some time in 1936. King of the Delta Blues Singers — the beautiful, bedevilled Johnson album — doesn't sound the same after Marcus. He opens your ears to its pain and lonesome poetry.

If the Arizona-born Sontag wants to be high European, some sort of heiress to Sartre, Marcus wants chiefly to be American. Both are Jewish, but only an intellectual like Sontag could announce: "Certainly Nazism is sexier than Communism". (It's those jackboots again). By contrast, Marcus's essay on Nazism — "Götterdämmerung after Twenty-One Years" — touches the nerve with its restrained anger and morality. But Marcus is an unusually tolerant and humane critic. His praise in the late 1970s for the kookier side of British punk — X-ray Spex, The Mekons — was rather sweet. Few can write so knowledgeably about The Slits and Eric Ambler. Britain's greatest living thriller-writer is given a glowing notice here; a plus for the professor.

It was Trotsky who told the Mensheviks they would end up in the "dustbin of history". In this book, Greil Marcus looks at events that have been left out of history (or, as with Tiananmen Square, deliberately excluded from an official version of it).

As an example of distorted popular history, Marcus cites the disastrous Rolling Stones concert at Altamont. Newspapers claimed the murder occurred while Jagger was strutting his way through "Sympathy for the Devil". This was not true (it happened during the less dramatically perfect "Under My Thumb"), but the legend persists. Well, it sold more papers; rock as Satan's music. But who wants yesterday's papers?



Six of the best for younger readers

Joanna Carey sizes up the shortlist for the Guardian's £1,500 children's fiction prize

Raider, by Susan Gates (Oxford, £5.99, 12+)
A brilliantly visualised "flashback" at the beginning gives this book an unforgettably gripping start. It concerns the death of a young boy, a "deckie learner" on board a deep-sea trawler. Forty years later, two schoolgirls reluctantly working together on a local history project, uncover the appalling facts behind this event. Shocked, and jolted out of their own preoccupations, they investigate further . . . and find themselves altered by what emerges as the present uncompromisingly confronts the past. An intelligent, purposeful novel with powerful undercurrents.

No Turning Back, by Beverley Naidoo (Viking £9.99, 11+)
Naidoo's book Journey To Jo'burg (banned in South Africa until 1991) gave children here an understanding of life under apartheid. This book is set in 1994, in the "new" South Africa. Twelve-year-old Sipho is living rough in Johannesburg. Prey to all the dangers and temptations of street life, he takes nothing for granted. Even when people seem friendly — like the white family who take him in — experience has taught Sipho to be increasingly circumspect as he learns exactly whom he can trust. Written with valuable insight, gritty but optimistic, this is a totally believable, absorbing read.

Northern Lights, by Philip Pullman (Scholastic, £12.99, 12+)
Set in (another) world that's both excitingly strange and strangely familiar, this labyrinthine story gets instant lift-off with a sparky, fearless young heroine. Juggling elemental phenomena, esoteric conjecture, demons and real scorching adventure, Pullman's trick in sustaining this fantasy is that while he almost blinds you with science and dazzles you with invention, he inspires confidence; it all seems perfectly natural, and you just go with it.

The Wreck of the Zanzibar, by Michael Morpurgo, illus. Christian Birmingham (Heinemann, £8.99/£2.99pb, 9+)
Instead of milking cows and feeding hens, Laura longs to be out at sea, rowing the gig with her twin brother . . . but this is 1907; she's a girl and father won't hear of it. "I can handle an oar as well as Billy," she says — and indeed, she soon gets to prove it. Set in the Isles of Scilly, Laura's very involving first person narrative reflects both the intimacy of the tiny island community and the huge, elemental scale of the shipwreck and the surrounding excitement and drama.

The Snakestone, by Berlie Doherty (Hamish Hamilton, £9.99, 11+)
Abandoned as a baby (and later adopted), James, now 15, is curious about his "real" identity. He sets off to find out the truth about his origins. As he travels, his disarmingly frank narrative is paralleled by another voice — that of his natural mother — whose fragmented testimony poignantly describes the circumstances of his birth when she herself was only a child. This tender/shocking/ultimately life-affirming story develops a real tension as the two narratives seem destined to entwine.

The Sherwood Hero, by Alison Prince (Macmillan, £3.99, 11+)
Handing out stolen money to (apparently) poor people was bound to be a dodgy business; when 12-year-old Kelly tried to set the world to rights with her "Robin Hood thing" on the streets of Glasgow, it was a disaster. When the dust finally settles, Kelly examines her motives and comes to terms with the guilt, shame and embarrassment she experienced. A complex story emerges, and a touching portrait of Kelly's relationship with her charismatic Glaswegian "Granda" is one of the many delights of this novel.

The judges are Nina Bawden, Terence Blacker, Anthony Browne and Lesley Howarth. They will announce their winner next month

Perfect poise

James Saynor

A Fine Balance
by Rohinton Mistry
Faber & Faber 768pp £15.99

PHOTOGRAPH: DARIO MITIDIERI

THE SECOND novel by the Bombay-born, Canada-based Rohinton Mistry has a striking photograph on its cover. It is of a small, raggedy Indian child perched on top of a long pole — a sort of seven-foot-high pogo stick — and reaching serenely for the sky. The pole is poised, above the heads of spectators, on the ball of a street-performer's upstretched thumb. It's an outstanding image for a novel called A Fine Balance. But what's inside the book is far, far more remarkable than that.

Mistry won a Booker nomination for his excellent first novel, Such A Long Journey (1991), a sad-happy account of a Bombay bank worker in the sixties, drawn naively into the skulduggery of Mrs Gandhi's early governance. A looseness of tone, an excessive geniality, was the book's biggest vice.

This time, Mistry attempts similar themes, and similar trombone slides between the march of history and the ballad of small lives, and hits precisely the right note of lyrical despair.

The story is of four people, two Hindus and two Parsis, thrown together in a dingy flat in the Bombay of the seventies. The widow Dina Dalal, escaping the clutches of her bullying businessman brother, has found freedom at the expense of social status — setting herself up as a backstreet sempstress for a clothing firm. Ishvar Darji and his nephew, Om, are two erratic-spirited tailors she hires, survivors of a pogrom of untouchables in the countryside. And Maneck Kohlah is a shy, yearnsome student — taking a course in "refrigeration and air-conditioning" — who becomes a lodger. Mrs Gandhi has just unleashed her *pièce de résistance* of constitutional chicanery, the near-totalitarian Emergency of 1975.

Like an angler flexing a line, Mistry takes us back, first of all, through the pre-stories of the four — most grimly, to caste-wars in village India, where an untouchable might have molten lead poured in his ears for straying too close to a brahmin at prayer. Then the author casts the story line majestically forward, as the domestic quarrels of the quartet are counterpointed with the giant, teeming world outside their hideaway, and with Mrs G's insane attempts at social discipline through licensed thuggery and mass sterilisations. It is an outdoors that will, in the end, spectacularly overwhelm them.

Mistry is a master blender of the picaresque and the tragic. The two tailors, Ishvar and Om, are mixtures of the Tolstoyan peasant-oracle and the Chaplinesque clown as they battle every imaginable adversity on the streets and in their ghetto shack. The author reveals the Bombay slums in all their queasy splendour.

This wry, vivid realism sounds exceptionally 19th century — a lot like Dickens, in fact. And Mistry updates to India one of the great issues of Victorian literature, whether a middle class can sustain any decency faced with rapaciousness above and below. The careworn Dina Dalal — herself a sub-contractor, a beleaguered "middle man" — discovers a society in which, to survive, you have to extract value from some other human being. As someone who hoards every stray scrap of textile, she knows better than anyone that all must have their cut. Only fleetingly does she create an ashram of ideal communal living in her tiny home — a ménage that serves as a kind of Conscience of the Nation — until heavy landlord boots are heard on the stairs.

Two other figures of the anchorless middle-order stand out in this novel, which is brimming with brilliantly imagined characters. One is Vasantrao Valmik, a benign, itinerant intellectual, who waxes windily on life's impossible balances. He is variously a lawyer, a newspaper proofreader overcome with the horror of what he has to read, a political string-puller, and an aide to a hocus-pocus man. He somehow clings to shreds of professional self-esteem amid all this moral squalor.

And his dark alternate is the Beggarmaster — a monarch of all street mendicants, an owner and trader of crippled panhandlers. He designs their disabilities himself, in a pattern-book — then lovingly implements their poignant handicaps. He is too pragmatic to be evil. He is something worse: a hideous mix of the modest and the monstrous, as he searches for the ultimate begging double act — a lame man on a blind man's shoulders — which he calls The Spirit of Collaboration.

To say Mistry captures the textures of India well and creates larger-than-life characters is to note the least of his achievements. If anything, his success is to make life seem so much larger than the characters — a far tougher task for a novelist. For all the chaos and calamity he describes, his book has a wonderful formal unity, a finely rounded set of story-circles and interconnected lives — which is the source of its true hope. Dina Dalal reflects: "Where humans were concerned, the only emotion that made sense was wonder at their ability to endure; and sorrow for the hopelessness of it all." But it is the first of those components that works on you most powerfully in this enthralling book. — *The Observer*

The tuck-and-stitch routine

Jenny Turner

The It-Doesn't-Matter Suit
by Sylvia Plath
Illus. Rotraut Susanne Berner
Faber 41pp £8.99

SYLVIA PLATH wrote The It-Doesn't-Matter Suit in 1959. She was 27, and desperate to get pregnant, and soon to move to Britain from Boston with her husband, Ted Hughes. Both of them had recently decided to take the risky leap of turning to writing full-time. For Hughes, this meant working steadily away at his poetry. But for Plath, it meant working frantically on all sorts of different projects, making endless plans to work yet harder as she did so, and crumbling into the usual depressions in between.

That May, Sylvia Plath had written her very first book, a nonsense verse for children. The Bed Book was rattled off in a matter of hours, only to be rejected a few months later. Sensibly, Ted Hughes suggested that Plath deal with the disappointment by starting on another one right away. "All right, I shall start with a snake, and simply send out the old book over and over." Neither of Plath's two stabs at the children's book market would make it into print in her lifetime.

The Bed Book was eventually published in 1986, illustrated by the mighty Quentin Blake. But this other story, about Max Nix, languished on in the famous Lilly Library archive, until a German publisher commissioned the charming full-colour drawings with which it now appears.

When Max Nix turns up in The It-Doesn't-Matter Suit, he turns out to be a neat, sharp-edged seven-year-old, the youngest of seven brothers, citizen of a Heidi-esque town called Winkelburg. Max is happy, except for one thing. He really would like a suit of clothes of his own.

And so, children, what on earth do you suppose is going to happen next?

One fine day, the postman arrives with a parcel just as the Nixs are sitting down to Mama Nix's apricot tarts. The "whiskery, mustardy-yellow suit" therein will be passed down from Father to Paul, from Paul to Emil, to Otto and Walter and Hugo and Johann, altered each time with "a tuck here and a stitch there" by Mama. And so, eventually, the suit will come to be inhabited and loved by little Max. By the time Plath suddenly and shockingly refocuses her rhythms into her final, and triumphant, It-Doesn't-Matter theme, we have been through the tuck-here-and-stitch-there routine a full seven, small-child-delighting times.

The It-Doesn't-Matter Suit is a folky, rhythmically repetitive story of the Chicken Licken sort. Its inspiration and its pleasures are half aural and half written, which is of course just perfect, because it is intended for an audience on the very threshold between the two. Max takes the suit skiing and slips and slithers along on his bottom. But the suit is very strong, and so It Doesn't Matter. Max wears the suit when he is milking and gets bits of hay all over it, but the hay is yellow and the suit is yellow and so It Doesn't Matter. And so on. The structures the story builds within itself as you read, of repetition and change, tension and release, are both the most primitive possible and as sophisticated as can be.

The It-Doesn't-Matter Suit is, however, surrounded by other tensions as well. In 1959, Sylvia Plath did not know that she would, within four years, have written the Ariel poems and died a horrible, self-inflicted death. But it's pointless to pretend that we don't. For Plath, Max Nix was as much the progeny of Johnny Panic as of Mama Nix and her charming apricot tarts. It is easy to sense the gut-wrenching ambivalence in the It Doesn't Matter refrain. "It doesn't matter." What statement could be more cheerful and forgiving? "It doesn't matter." What phrase is more redolent of hopelessness and defeat?

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Chess Leonard Barden

CENEK KOTTNAUER, who died last month aged 85, was a Czech who fled political persecution and became one of the UK's best players and teachers. He came to serious chess unusually late, and this week's game, played half a century ago on March 7, made his name.

Shortly after making one of the best scores in the 1952 Olympiad, he announced his defection at a tournament in Lucerne. I was his opponent that day and hoped the hullabaloo would distract him, but he crushed me nevertheless.

Later, settled with his family in London, he became a stalwart of the England team, widely liked for his ironic wit and quick analysis. He was one of the best junior coaches: his handful of pupils almost all became GMs or IMs and between them won two British championships and three junior world titles.

Kottnauer-Kotov, Prague v Moscow 1946

1 c4 e6 2 d4 d5 3 Nc3 c6 4 Nf3 Nf6 5 e3 Nbd7 6 Bd3 dxc4 7 Bxc4 b5 8 Bd3 a6 9 e4 c5 10 e5 cxd4 11 Nxb5 axb5 12 exf6 Qb6 13 fxg7 Bxg7 14 0-0 0-0 15 Qe2 15 Bf4 is also good. **Nc5 16 Bxh7+!? Kxh7 17 Ng5+ Kg6 18 Qg4 f5 19 Qg3 Kf6?** The Bxh7+ Greek Gift offer usually leads to a quick win as the BK has no defence. Kottnauer's is a more strategic sacrifice, where Black is hard put to regroup before White brings up more attackers. Rf7! is better.

20 Bf4 Ke7 21 Rac1 Ra7 22 Rfe1 Bd7 23 b4 Na6 24 Nxe6! White crashes through. **Bxe6 25 Qxg7+ Rf7 26 Bg5+ Kd7 27 Qh8 Qb8 28 Qxd4+ Resigns.**

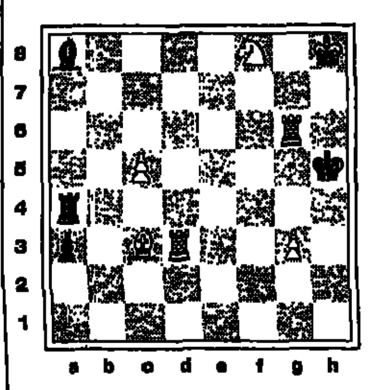
Zsuzsa, oldest of the Polgar trio, has won the women's world championship by beating the holder Xie Jun 8½-4½. Polgar's victory was aided by Xie's abysmal form. Was it political inhibition about an opponent who now lives in New York? Soviet grandmasters, worried about Moscow's reaction to defeat, often played poorly against Fischer or the exiled Korchnoi. This game settled the title.

Z Polgar-Xie Jun, 13th game

1 d4 Nf6 2 Nf3 g6 3 c4 Bg7 4 g3 0-0 5 Bg2 d5 6 cxd5 Nxd5 7 0-0 Nc6 8 e4 Nb6 9 d5 Na5 10 Qe1! This well-known formation normally occurs with Nc3 already played. Alert to the difference, Polgar harries Black's knights. **Nac4 11 Nc3 e6 12 b3 Qf6** If Nd6 13 e5 Ne8 14 Bg5 and White is in control. **13 bxc4 Qxc3 14 Qxc3 Bxc3 15 Rb1 Bg7?** Black should try Nxc4 when 16 Bf4 Nd6 17 Rfc1 Ba5 looks ugly, but White still has to prove her position is worth more than a pawn.

16 Bf4 c6 17 dxc6 bxc6 18 Bd6 Rd8 19 c5 Nc4 20 e5 Ba6 21 Rfc1 Rdc8? A blunder under pressure. Nxd6 22 cxd6 Bb5 23 Nd4! is also very good for White. **22 Bf1 Nxe5 23 Nxe5 Bxf1 24 Kxf1 Resigns.**

No 2413



White mates in three moves, against any defence (by A Klinke). The BK is trapped on the edge, but earlier solvers have taken an hour or more.

No 2412: 1 Ba8 d3 2 Nb7 Kxf5 3 Kf7 Kxe4 4 Nd6 mate.



ILLUSTRATION: GEOFF JOZE

Better stay at home

Colin Luckhurst

SHOULD you, like me, be sitting at home in a state of frailty (temporary I hasten to add, or at least I hope so) there is a degree of amusement to be had from the teletext pages of BBC2 on Ceefax that provide advice to intending travellers from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. I chanced on these pages by accident and concluded that the FCO was determined to leave the impression that it might be better not to go at all. How very different from the enticing come-ons of the long haul travel agents. Scanning a few pages at random I was able to review travel plans on the basis of official advice. Here's what I learned:

Afghanistan: Travel to Afghanistan should be avoided. Continuing tension has led to recurrent outbreaks of fighting. Those insisting on travelling should check before setting out. There is no resident mission for consular help. The British High Commission in Pakistan can only provide limited advice. Armed conflict may pose a threat to civil aircraft. Some carriers avoid Afghan airspace.

Trinidad and Tobago: Criminal activity involving weapons, sometimes with the risk of sexual assault, continues. Visitors should not visit lonely beaches and should take local advice on other areas. The pitch lake at La Brea is an area of concern where several tourists have been robbed lately. Do not carry large amounts of money or wear jewellery.

Estonia: Travellers should be aware that crime, sometimes violent, does take place and are advised to take sensible precautions, especially after dark. Car theft is a particular problem.

Venezuela: Difficult economic conditions have caused a surge in crime in all areas but more noticeably in Caracas. Extreme caution should be exercised when walking the city streets, avoiding the poorer areas and city car parks. Car thefts, some at gun point, are common. Contact the British Embassy, Caracas, for advice before travelling overland to Brazil.

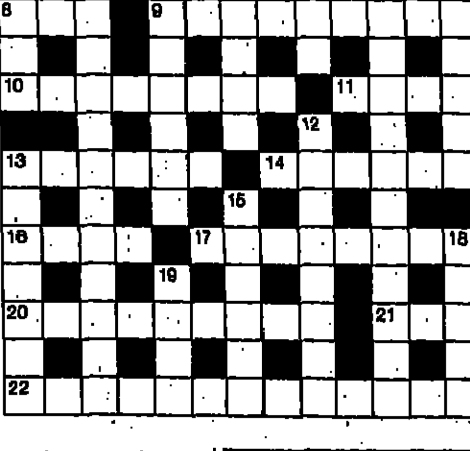
Kazakhstan: Robberies on road and rail transport have increased. Passengers should travel in groups. Compartments should always be locked on overnight trains. There has been an increase in attacks on streets in larger cities, including Almaty. Travellers are advised not to walk the streets alone at night or to travel in unmarked taxis. Keep expensive items out of sight.

Colombia: Violence and kidnapping continues. In rural areas especially there is the risk of being caught up in attacks. Visitors should not be put off travelling but take advice from the embassy and local authorities if planning to travel away from recognised tourist centres. Be alert to bogus plainclothes police asking to see wallets or handbags.

Zaire: Travellers should consider whether their journey is essential before visiting Zaire. Throughout Zaire there is a general lack of law and order. Be cautious when travelling in Kinshasa. Travel outside the capital at night is best avoided. Banditry is not uncommon and tension can rise at any time due to deep economic and political uncertainty.

It's nice to find such a caring arm of HM government, is it not? So we'll be riding our bicycles along the Danube cycle path to Vienna.

Quick crossword no. 306



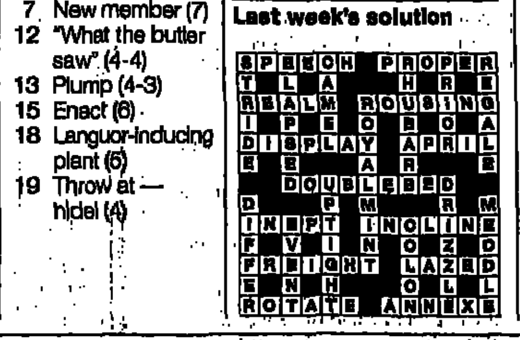
Across

1 One seeking to expend his department etc (6-7)
8 Orator's gift (3)
9 Very drunk (9)
10 Force into compliance (8)
11 Lover or dandy (4)
13 Notecase (6)
14 Heartfelt (6)
16 Part of ear (4)
17 Offer (8)
20 Aid to night landings (5,4)
21 Astern (3)
22 Feature of eg Dales landscape (3-5,5)

Down

1 Keen (5)
2 Building with books for borrowing (6,7)
3 Riposte (8)
4 Internment (6)
5 Lazy (4)
6 Dickensian school (9,4)
7 New member (7)
12 "What the butler saw" (4-4)
13 Plump (4-3)
15 Enact (6)
18 Languor-inducing plant (5)
19 Throw at — hide! (4)

Last week's solution



Bridge Zia Mahmood

THE MACALLAN Camrose series of home international matches had its most thrilling finale for many years. An unexpected loss to Wales in January left England needing to score a big win over Scotland in the final match of 90 deals.

After 10 of those deals, England had an impressive lead, whereupon the pundits confidently predicted a Scottish collapse and an easy England victory. But Bannockburn and other encounters have shown that the Scots are not given to collapsing, and they did not collapse now.

On the contrary, so bravely did Scotland fight back that after 30 deals, they had taken the lead in the match, thereby extending the margin by which they led the Camrose series.

If the first 30 boards resembled Bannockburn, the next 30 were the bridge equivalent of the Massacre of Glencoe.

England racked up over 100 IMPs while Scotland could muster barely 30 in reply, so that with one 30-board session remaining, England were within 21 IMPs of a memorable Camrose victory.

It was standing room only, and precious little of that, in the Vugraph theatre as the players took their seats for the final showdown.

Scotland, showing great courage after the battering they had taken the previous day, had extended their 21-IMP cushion by a fraction after 10 deals.

But England summoned all their reserves of experience and skill for one last effort, and with six deals to go they had climbed the mountain.

They led by 26 IMPs, and for the first time it was Scotland who needed to come from behind — if the cards gave them the chance.

This deal flashed up on the Vugraph screen — game all; dealer South (see table right).

West led the six of clubs to East's king, which South ducked. East switched to a trump, won by South's ace. A diamond was led to North's king. South needed to set up a long diamond in dummy for a discard of his third spade. The defenders could stop this in one of two ways: East could duck the first round of diamonds, or he could win it and return a spade. Either would leave declarer short of a vital entry to set up dummy's fifth diamond.

The English East won the king of diamonds with the ace and returned a second round of trumps,

North
♠ A Q 7 2
♥ J 2
♦ K Q 9 6 5
♣ 7 4

West
♠ K J 8
♥ Q 10 3
♦ 10 3
♣ Q 10 8 6 3

East
♠ 10 6 3
♥ 9 5
♦ A J 7 2
♣ K 9 5 2

South
♠ 9 5 4
♥ A K 8 7 6 4
♦ 8 4
♣ A J

South	West	North	East
1♥	No	2♦	No
2♥	No	2♠	No
3♥	No	4♥	No
No	No		

so Scotland made the contract. Scottish hearts were in Scottish mouths as Les Steel, their East, pondered over the king of diamonds. Finally, he took it with the ace. One chance left — and to a cheer that shook the rafters, he returned a spade into dummy's ace queen. Twelve IMPs to Scotland, who had the Camrose Trophy back in their grasp. This time, they did not let go.

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Rugby Union Five Nations Championship: England 28 Ireland 15

Best of five glory for England

Mike Cleary at Twickenham

FOR ENGLAND, the championship; for Will Carling, mixed feelings at the end of his reign as captain. It was always going to be a difficult curtain call to take. There was the massive expectation, the tabloid tittle-tattle and the most feared and unwelcome opponent of all — Mr Sod.

His undeniable law duly came to pass shortly after the half-hour had passed. Carling stubbed his ankle horribly on a divot of turf while merely following play. He fell awkwardly, tearing ligaments in his right ankle. He was carried from the field on a stretcher to great applause, but was able to take a seat in the stand for the closing stages. He was even able to hobble up the steps at the final whistle, leading his team to collect the Millennium Trophy awarded for this match.

Carling's wry smile was not just indicative of his own predicament, but a recognition that his team had sneaked through on the offside to take the title on points difference from Scotland, France having been pipped 16-15 in Cardiff.

It was not a glorious triumph marked by great feats or imperious dominance. Certainly the neutrals will be begrudging in their praise, for this is a middling England team, long on heart and spirit, but short of style, polish and real class.

It was fitting, though, that the one slick piece of action should bring England their try. It came four minutes from time, at the moment when England, leading 21-15, looked as if they were about to take the title with one of the lowest return of tries, just two, for many a year.

Then, finally and gloriously for England, the jigsaw finally fell into place. Archer won a lineout, Dallaglio took it on, and England were sweeping left. Grayson ran wide, Guscott cut a dummy angle, leaving a perfect, tantalising hole for Sleightholme to race through for his first international try. Grayson, who finished with 23 points in all, struck the conversion beautifully from the touchline.

Even if there were too many mistakes, too much breathless muddle and not enough poise and control, there was at least some freshness and vitality about England's play. They were looking to create openings rather than sitting back and waiting for them to pass their way.

But they have perhaps spent too long in their own cell of caution and so are understandably edgy and hesitant when they move into alien territory. The final pass so often went awry, the final link would not arrive in the right place at the right time. Dallaglio had another storming match, Archer impressed with his robust play in the loose and even got his hands on some decent lineout ball.

Richards, while less prominent than in Edinburgh, was none the less again hugely influential, particularly in the second half when it looked for some horrible moments as if England were going to go off the boil, very much as they had done against Wales.

Ireland, for their part, were competitive, well-marshalled up front, shrewdly directed at fly-half by Humphreys, but ultimately lacking in real fire-power and thrust. They took the game to England in the opening stages and, with Mason knocking over the penalties, led England 15-12 at the interval. Humphreys had slotted a drop goal in the opening minute and then had two attempts charged down just before half-time. They won enough lineout ball through Fulcher and Davidson to mount some threatening attacks in their own right. They could not, though, work the ball wide enough to their real danger man, Geoghegan.

In the end, Ireland had to slot into their historically designated role of scrapping, snapping underdogs. They played well enough, can take heart from their most positive moments, but once again they were on the losing side. Their organisation and defence were commendable: Corkery and McBride got through prodigious work, while the tackle by McCall — on as a replacement for Field — on Dallaglio saved the day in the second half.

Carling will savour the title at the end of what has been a tortuously difficult season for England. He will, too, have enjoyed his final half-hour in the spotlight. He had his hands on the ball more often in that period than he has all season. There was a relish and drive in his play, punching first one way and then the other. He was in his element, abrasive and determined. — *The Observer*

Final standings

	P	W	L	F	A	Pts
England	4	3	1	79	54	6
Scotland	4	3	1	60	56	6
France	4	2	2	89	57	4
Wales	4	1	3	62	82	2
Ireland	4	1	3	65	106	2

Football Premiership: Newcastle United 3 West Ham United 0

Newcastle take a leap back to the top

Ian Ross

THE rumour that had gathered such momentum as it crept along football's grapevine was that Newcastle United had lost their nerve and their way. To use football parlance, they were bottling it. Having seen Manchester United assume top spot in the Premiership after last Saturday's 1-1 draw against QPR, the pressure was intense.

However, their detractors — and despite the obvious St James's pedigree there are many — must accept after this result that such a notion is pure wishful thinking.

West Ham were in some respects the architects of their own downfall, what with Steve Potts being sent off and with their normally reliable midfield reduced to a rabble by over-caution. But the truth was that Newcastle were irresistible on Monday night, and but for a virtuoso performance by West Ham's goalkeeper Les Sealey it would have been more of a rout than a stroll.

West Ham began the night much as they were to finish it: under pressure and strung out along the perimeter of their penalty area like so many fence posts.

But for Sealey the game would have been over as a contest within the first quarter-hour. For 20 minutes he stopped absolutely everything, denying Ferdinand, Ginola and Lee with the casual air of a club player performing on the local rec. Nothing lasts for ever, though, and in the 21st minute, just as patience was being sorely tested, Newcastle broke through.

Having taken delivery of Ferdinand's pass Asprilla flicked it sideways, so dissecting the defence and pushing the ball directly into the path of Albert. The Belgian is a most proficient finisher and his shot was low and true.

West Ham rallied gamely but a bleak picture was to darken still more in the 31st minute when Potts was dismissed for his second foul on Ginola within the space of 60 seconds. The red card was the very least he deserved.

As West Ham turned their attention to damage limitation, Newcastle began to punch holes in a tiring defence. Ferdinand squandered a fine opportunity in the 48th minute but seven minutes later Newcastle were home and dry. Beardsley chipped forward a pass that Asprilla carried on before he drove a shot up and over the advancing Sealey.

The floodgates were finally ajar and 10 minutes later Ferdinand knocked in a third after Ginola's corner had been helped on, firstly by Howey and then by Asprilla.

Football results and leading positions

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP: Coventry 0, Bolton 2; Leeds 2, Everton 2; Liverpool 2, Chelsea 0; Man City 2, Southampton 1; Middlesbrough 1, Nottm Forest 1; Newcastle 3, West Ham 0; QPR 1, Man U 1; Sheff W 2, A Villa 0; Tottenham 2, Blackburn 3; Wimbledon 0, Arsenal 3. **Leading positions:** 1, Newcastle (29-64); 2, Man U (30-61); 3, Liverpool (30-59).

ENDSLEIGH LEAGUE: First Division Birmingham 0, Sunderland 2; Derby 1, Watford 1; Grimsby 0, C Palace 2; Ipswich 1, Tranmere 2; Millwall 1, Sheff Utd 0; Oldham 3, Leicester 1; Portsmouth 0, Wolverhampton 2; Reading 0, Norwich 3; Southend 1, Charlton 1; Stoke 1, Huddersfield 1; West Brom 2, Barnsley 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Sunderland (36-66); 2, Derby (37-65); 3, C Palace (36-56).

Second Division: Bournemouth 2, York 2; Bradford 2, Rotherham 0; Brighton 4, Hull 0; Bristol R 2, Bristol C 4; Burnley 0, Swindon 0; Carlisle 1, Shrewsbury 1; Notts Co 1, Oxford 1; Peterborough 3, Crewe 1; Swansea 0, Blackpool 2; Walsall 3, Chesterfield 0; Wrexham 2, Stockport 3; Wycombe 2, Brentford 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Blackpool (36-70); 2, Swindon (33-68); 3, Crewe (35-61).

Third Division: Barnet 4, Torquay 0; Bury 1, Rochdale 1; Chester 2, Exeter 2; Doncaster 2, Scunthorpe 0; Fulham 0, Cambridge 2; L Orient 2, Lincoln 0; Mansfield 0, Gillingham 1; Plymouth 1, Northampton 0; Preston 1, Darlington 1; Scarborough 0, Colchester 0; Wigan 3, Cardiff 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Gillingham (36-66); 2, Preston (35-63); 3, Plymouth (36-59).

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Division: Falkirk 1, Partick 2; Hearts 1, Hibernian 1; Kilmarnock 0, Motherwell 1; Raith 2, Aberdeen 2; Rangers 1, Celtic 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Rangers (29-69); 2, Celtic (29-66); 3, Aberdeen (29-44).

First Division: Dumbarton 0, Clydebank 1; Dundee Utd 2, Dundee 0; Greenock Morton 1, St Mirren 2; Hamilton 4, Airdrie 1; St Johnstone 2, Dunfermline 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Dunfermline (29-55); 2, Dundee Utd (29-54); 3, Gr Morton (28-51).

Second Division: Berwick 4, Q of South 1; Clyde 1, Stirling 3; E Fife 3, Stenhousemuir 1; Montrose 3, Forfar 1; Stranraer 1, Ayr 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Stirling (29-65); 2, E Fife (29-56); 3, Berwick (29-47).

Third Division: Albion 0, Queen's Pk 2; Alloa 2, East Stirling 2; Arbroath 0, Brechin 1; Livingston 2, Cowdenbeath 1; Ross County 2, Caledonian T 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Livingston (29-57); 2, Brechin (29-53); 3, Ross County (29-46).

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Carr's sweet revenge

AS THE English football season enters its final stages, Aston Villa can look back with satisfaction on their achievements so far. Already finalists in the Coca-Cola Cup, they booked their place in the semi-final of the FA Cup by beating Nottingham Forest 1-0 last week. Villa now meet either Liverpool or Leeds United on March 31 at Old Trafford to try to make it a double date at Wembley.

Forest were driven out of the competition by Franz Carr, a former Forest boy wonder who became a forgotten man. After five years in the wilderness since being sold by then manager Brian Clough, Carr returned to the club where he had spent his first seven years in the professional game, to end their dreams of a cup double — FA and Uefa.

Making his full debut after 13 months at Villa, he scored his first goal for the club, and his first in the FA Cup to take them into the semi-finals for the first time in 36 years.

THERE were no Serie A football matches in Italy on Sunday as players went on strike. It followed the breakdown of last-minute negotiations between players and clubs over demands on transfer fees and other money matters. They propose to do the same again on April 21 — voting day in the general elections. Strike action by Serie B and C players is also planned.

MARK BLUNDELL of Britain, who moved from Formula One to IndyCar racing this year, survived a spectacular crash in the Rio de Janeiro meeting on Sunday. Blundell, taking part in only his second race, smashed into the perimeter wall at more than 190mph in the tenth lap of the race. The car was virtually destroyed, but Blundell escaped with a broken toe. The 133-lap race ended in a home triumph for Andre Ribeiro.

WHILE many lovers of horse racing will remember the 1996 Cheltenham Festival for the thrilling performance of Imperial Call in the Gold Cup, the thoughts of others will be on the unusually high number of fatalities. Four horses died on the first day, two on the second and another four on the third. The meeting was particularly sad for trainer Martin Pipe, who lost three of them: Born To Be Wild, Draborgie and Mack The Knife.

LIZ McCOLGAN, the former world and Commonwealth Games 10,000 metres champion, has told the Scottish Athletic Federation that she will not run for Scotland again. It follows the appointment of her former coach, John Anderson, as Scotland's athletics team manager for the 1998 Commonwealth Games. McColgan and Anderson were involved in a legal wrangle after they parted company.

DIANE MODAHL is suing the British Athletic Federation for £480,000 compensation over her drugs case. The figure was disclosed at the federation's annual meeting by the outgoing treasurer, John Lister. He revealed that £250,000 had been spent on anti-doping actions in the past five years, with £195,000 going on the Modahl case, which remains unresolved.

SCOTLAND'S Colin Montgomerie won the Desert Classic in Dubai with exactly the score he had predicted. The European No 1 marked his return to the circuit after a three-month lay-off with a one-stroke victory over Spain's Miguel Angel Jiminez. Montgomerie shot a final round of 68 for the 270 total he had forecast would secure him his tenth European victory. Montgomerie also picked up prize money totalling £108,330.



Naseem Hamed: 35-second win

IN ONE of the quickest fights in the annals of boxing, Britain's Naseem Hamed disposed of the first challenge to his WBO featherweight title. Two punches, two knockdowns and 35 seconds was all it took him to beat Said Lawal. Hamed landed a perfect punch in the fifth second to bring his opponent down. The Nigerian managed to beat the count but another jab sent him crashing to the floor again, and this time the referee did not even bother with the count.

THE image of Atlanta, host to this summer's Olympics and labelled as "murder capital of the States", received further bruising when Georgia's attorney general, Mike Bowers, declared he was "willing to bet it's safer to walk the streets of Sarajevo than those of my home town". On last year's figures the tally for the Olympic fortnight should be seven homicides, 17 rapes, 202 robberies and 341 aggravated assaults.

ARSENAL have rejected a transfer request from their unsettled striker, Ian Wright, who claims he is not appreciated at Highbury and wants to leave. The club have told him that he must see out the remainder of his four-year contract. However, this may not be the end of the matter, as clubs seeking the 32-year-old are raising their bids and Arsenal are unlikely to refuse an inflated offer that suits them. The signs are he will move in the summer.

ALLAN BORDER, Australia's 40-year-old former captain who left the international arena in 1994, is to retire at the end of the current Sheffield Shield season.